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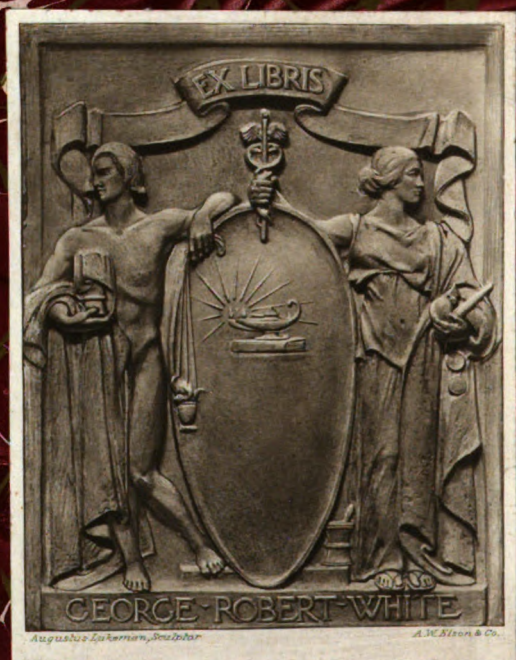
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HUDIBRAS,

A POEM,

IN THREE PARTS.



I. Ross delin^r - G. F. Wainwright sculp^r

BUTLER'S TENEMENT.

Near Shonham, Worcestershire.

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HUDIBRAS.

PART III. CANTO II.

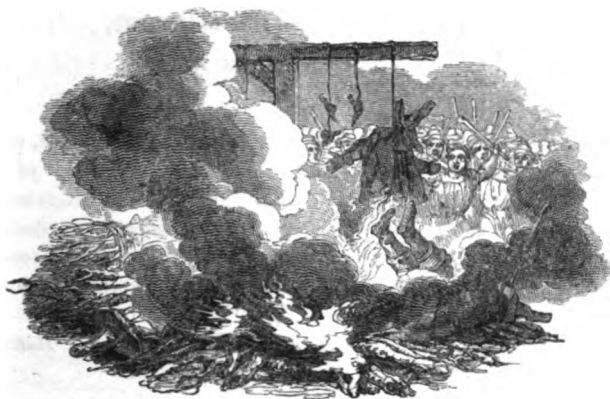
VOL. III.

A

ARGUMENT.

*The Saints engage in fierce contests,
About their carnal interests ;
To share their sacrilegious preys,
According to their rates of grace ;
Their various frenzies to reform,
When Cromwell left them in a storm ;
Till in th' effige of RUMPS, the rabble
Burns all their grandees of the cabal.*

HUDIBRAS.



CANTO II.

THE learned write, an insect breeze
Is but a mongrel prince of bees,
That falls, before a storm, on cows,
And stings the founders of his house ;

This Canto is entirely independent of the adventures of Hudibras and Ralpho : neither of our heroes make their appearance : other characters are introduced, and a new vein of satire is exhibited. The Poet steps out of his road, and skips from the time wherein these adventures happened, to Cromwell's death ; and from thence to the dissolution of the Rump Parliament. This conduct is allowable in a satirist, whose privilege it is to ramble wherever he pleases, and to stigmatize vice, faction, and rebellion, where and whenever he meets with them. He is not tied down to the observance of unity of action, time, or place ; though he has hitherto had a regard to such decorums : but now, and here only he claims the privilege of a satirist, and deviates from order, time, and uniformity ; and deserts his principal actors : he purposely sends them out of the way, that we may attend to a lively representation of the princi-

From whose corrupted flesh, that breed 5
 Of vermin, did at first proceed.
 So, ere the storm of war broke out,
 Religion spawn'd a various rout,

ples and politicks of Presbyterians, Independents, and Republicans, upon the dawning of the restoration. He sets before us a full view of the treachery and underminings of each faction : and sure it is with pleasure we see the fears and commotions they were in upon the happy declension of their tyrannical power and government. All these occurrences are fully and faithfully related in this Canto ; and the several facts are warranted by history. (Mr. B.)

Ibid. See *Two Speeches made in the Rump Parliament, Butler's Remains*, vol. 1. (Ed.)

v. 1, 2. *The learned write, an insect breeze—Is but a mongrel prince of bees, &c.*] * An insect breeze ; breezes often bring along with them great quantities of insects which, some are of opinion, are generated from viscous exhalations in the air ; but our author makes them proceed from a cow's dung, and afterwards become a plague to that whence it received it's original." He alludes probably to the method of repairing the bee kind, mentioned by Virgil, *Georgic*, 4. 283, &c.

*Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri
 Pandere*—————

Thus translated by Mr. Dryden.

'Tis time to touch the precepts of an art,
 Th' Arcadian master did of old impart ;
 And how he stock'd his empty hives again,
 Renew'd with putrid gore of oxen slain.—————
 First, in a place by nature close, they build
 A narrow flooring, gutter'd, wall'd, and til'd.
 In this, four windows are contriv'd, that strike
 To the four winds oppos'd, their beams oblique.
 A steer of two years old they take, whose head
 Now first with burnish'd horns begins to spread :
 They stop his nostrils, while he strives in vain
 To breathe free air, and struggles with his pain.
 Knock'd down, he dies : his bowels, bruis'd within,
 Betray no wound on his unbroken skin.
 Extended thus, in this obscene abode,
 They leave the beast ; but first sweet flow'rs are strow'd

Of petulant capricious sects,
 The maggots of corrupted texts, 10
 That first run all religion down,
 And after ev'ry swarm, its own.
 For as the Persian Magi once
 Upon their mothers got their sons,

*Beneath his body, broken boughs and thyme,
 And pleasing cassia just renew'd in prime.
 This must be done, ere spring makes equal day,
 When western winds on curling waters play :
 E'er painted meads produce their flow'ry crops,
 Or swallows twitter on the chimney tops.
 The tainted blood, in this close prison pent,
 Begins to boil, and through the bones ferment.
 Then, wondrous to behold, new creatures rise,
 A moving mass at first, and short of thighs;
 Till, shooting out with legs, and imp'd with wings,
 The grubs proceed to bees with pointed stings;
 And, more and more affecting air, they try
 Their tender pinions, and begin to fly :
 At length, like summer storms, from spreading clouds,
 That burst at once, and pour impetuous floods ;
 Or flights of arrows from the Parthian bows,
 When from afar they gall embattled foes ;
 With such a tempest through the skies they steer,
 And such a form the winged squadrons bear.*

See an account of *blasts*, *Lord Bacon's Natural History*, cent. 7. sect. 696. p. 143. *Dr. Baynard's History of Cold Baths*, part 2. p. 143. *Morton's History of Northamptonshire*, p. 331. *Bradley's Account of blights from insects*. *New Improvement of Planting and Gardening*, part 3. chap. 5. p. 310, &c.

v. 8. *Religion spawn'd a various rout.*] The Author of *A Tale of a Tub* (p. 201) probably alludes to this ; where speaking of Jack, he observes, " That he was a person of great design and improvement in devotion ; having introduced a new deity, who has since met with a vast number of worshippers, by some called Babel, by some Chaos, who had an ancient temple of gothic structure upon Salisbury Plain." See an account of the great variety of sects during those times, *Tatler*, No. 256.

That were incapable t'enjoy
 That empire any other way :
 So Presbyter begot the other
 Upon the *good old cause*, his mother,

15

*Take—and his club, and Smec and his tub,
 Or any sect old or young ;
 The devil's in the pack, if choice you can lack,
 We are fourscore religions strong.*

The *Rebellion*. *Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731, vol. 1.
 No. 67, p. 176.

v. 10. *The maggots of corrupted texts*] The Independents were literally so, having corrupted that text, *Acts* vi. 3. to give the people a right to chuse their own pastors. *Wherefore, brethren, look ye out from among you, seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost, whom ye* (instead of *we*, ἡς καλαίστημεν) *may appoint over this business.* Mr. Field has this forgery in several of his editions of the Bible; and among the rest in his beautiful folio edition of 1659—60; and octavo edition, 1661; and I have been informed, that he was the first printer of this forgery, and had 1500*l.* for it. (See *Mr. Wotton's Visitation Sermon at Newport Pagnel, Bucks, September 7, 1706*, p. 7.)

*They a bold power o'er sacred scriptures take,
 Blot out some clauses, and some new ones make.*

Cowley's Puritan and Papist, p. 3.

And they are described by Mr. Dryden (*Religio Laici*, 4th edition, 1701, p. 76.) in the following lines :

*Study and pains were now no more their care ;
 Texts were explain'd by fasting and by prayer :
 This was the fruit the private spirit brought,
 Occasion'd by great zeal, and little thought.
 While crowds unlearn'd, with rude devotion warm,
 About the sacred viands bus and swarm ;
 The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood,
 And turns to maggots what was meant for food.
 A thousand daily sects rise up and die,
 A thousand more the perish'd race supply :
 So all we make of Heaven's discover'd will,
 Is, not to have it, or to use it ill.
 The danger's much the same on several shelves ;
 If others wreck us, or we wreck ourselves.*

That bore them like the Devil's dam,
 Whose son and husband are the same. 20
 And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,
 Nor int'rest for their common good,

Ibid.—The Independents were not guilty of introducing this false reading: it appeared first in the Cambridge edition, printed by Buck and Daniel, 1638. (Ed.)

v. 13. *For as the Persian, &c.*] * The Magi were priests and philosophers among the Persians, entrusted with the government both civil and ecclesiastick, much addicted to the observation of the stars. Zoroaster is reported to be their first author. They had this custom amongst them to preserve and continue their families, by incestuous copulation with their own mothers. Some are of opinion, that the three wise men that came out of the East to worship our Saviour, were some of these."

v. 17, 18. *So Presbyter begot the other, — Upon the good old cause, his mother*] The author of the *Dialogue between Mr. Guthry and Mr. Giffen*, 1661, p. 21. sets forth their relation in the following manner.

Giff. "They say, they are of nearer relation to you; your younger brothers, and the wiser too.

Guth. I confess, they did follow our pattern a long time, but it was with a design to spoil our copy, and they supplanted us by the same artifice we used, a greater seeming austerity of life and conversation."

The Presbyterians and Independents were as near of kin in a spiritual sense, as Archer (who pretended to be an Irishman) and Foigard, an Irish Popish Priest, were in a natural one.

Archer. Upon my soulvation dere ish, joy. But cussen Mackshane vil you not put a remembrance upon me?

Foigard. Mackshane! By St. Paatrick, dat ish my naame shure enough. (*aside.*) The devil hang you, joy. By fat acquaintance are you my cussen?

Archer. O, de devil hang you, joy; you know we were little boys togeder upon de school, and your foster-moder's son was married upon my nurse's chister, joy, and so we are *Irish cussens*.

Farquhar's Beaux Stratagem, act 4. p. 65.

v. 19, 20. *That bore them like the Devil's dam, — Whose son and husband are the same.*] Mr. Towneley, in the notes to his translation of

Could, when their profits interfer'd,
 Get quarter for each other's beard.
 For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd, 25
 But only by the ears engag'd;
 Like dogs that snarl about a bone,
 And play together when they've none.
 As by their truest characters,
 Their constant actions, plainly appears. 30
 Rebellion now began, for lack
 Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack;
 The *cause* and *covenant* to lessen,
 And providence to b' out of season:

Hudibras, remarks that these lines allude to the allegory of Sin and Death in *Milton's Paradise Lost*, book 2. (ED.)

v. 24. *Get quarter for each other's beard*] The Presbyterians when uppermost were very unwilling to grant a toleration to the Independents, and other sectaries, as is observed in the preface. Mr. Calamy, upon demand what they would do with Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c. said, "They would not meddle with their consciences, but with their bodies and estates." (*Arraignment of Persecution*, p. 16.) For further proof, I beg leave to refer the reader to *Sir Roger L'Estrange's Dissenter's Sayings, First and Second Parts*, under the article *Toleration*. And to a tract, entitled, *A Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, published 1723, p. 68, &c. *Simple Cocker of Agawam in America*, &c. p. 9.

v. 25. *For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd*] To *fadge* is to suit, to fit, to go with. "I shall never *fadge* with the humour because I cannot lie." *Decker's Old Fortunatus*. (ED.)

v. 27. *Like dogs that snarl about a bone*] The Jews tell of two dogs that were very fierce the one against the other: one of them is assaulted by a wolf, and thereupon the other dog resolves to help him against the wolf that made the assault. (*Adagia Hebraica, Ray's Proverbs*, 2d. edit. p. 406. *L'Estrange's Fables*, part 2. fab. 16.)

v. 85, 86. *For now there was no more to purchase — O' th' Kings' revenue, and the churches*] An Ordinance was passed 1649 for removing obstructions in the sale of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's lands,

For now there was no more to purchase 35
 O' th' King's revenue, and the churches',
 But all divided, shar'd and gonè,
 That us'd to urge the brethren on.
 Which forc'd the stubborn'st, for the *cause*,
 To cross the cudgels to the laws, 40
 That what by breaking them th' had gain'd,
 By their support might be maintain'd;
 Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie,
 Secur'd against the hue-and-cry,
 For Presbyter and Independent 45
 Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant:

and several manors and lands were appointed the soldiers for their arrears, whose debentures were now stated by a committee of the army; the common soldiers purchasing in the manner of a corporation, by regiments. The frequency of these debentures (which the old officers and reformadoes sold at half a crown in the pound) drew in several citizens to bargain with the trustees, named in the ordinance for the sale of such lands and hereditaments. (See *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 256. and the *Ordinance*, *Scobel's Collections*, part 2. chap. 42. p. 51.) And for removing obstructions in the sale of the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, id. ib. chap. 35. p. 44. There had been nineteen ordinances to the same purpose, in the years 1646, 1647, 1648. See the table annexed to the *Ordinance*, 20th of November, 1648. And yet notwithstanding White-Hall and Somerset-House were not disposed of May 16, 1659: for all at that time it was resolved by the Council of State, that these, with their appurtenances, should be exposed to sale, for paying the great arrears due to the army. (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 567, p. 448.) And Wednesday the sixth of July, 1659, they ordered the sale of Hampton-Court, with the meadows, parks, and deer. (ib. No. 577. p. 576.)

43. *Like thieves that in a hemp-plot lie.*] "He shelters himself under the covert of the law, like a thief in a hemp-plot, and makes that secure him, which was intended for his destruction." *Butler's Remains*, vol. II. (Ed.)

v. 52. —*the Dragon and St. Michael, &c.*] *St. Michael, an archangel, mentioned in *St. Jude's Epistle*, verse 9.

Laid out their apostolick functions,
 On carnal orders and injunctions ;
 And all their precious gifts and graces
 On *outlawries* and *scire facias* ; 50
 At *Michael's Term* had many a trial,
 Worse than the Dragon and St. Michael,
 Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,
 Into the bottomless abyss.
 For when, like brethren, and like friends, 55
 They came to share their dividends,
 And ev'ry partner to possess
 His church and state joint-purchases,
 In which the ablest saint, and best,
 Was nam'd in trust by all the rest, 60
 To pay their money ; and, instead
 Of ev'ry brother, pass the deed ;
 He strait converted all his gifts
 To pious frauds, and holy shifts ;
 And settled all the other shares 65
 Upon his outward man and 's heirs :
 Held all they claim'd as forfeit lands,
 Deliver'd up into his hands,
 And pass'd upon his conscience,
 By *pre-intail* of providence ; 70

v. 77, 78. ——— as hot and brain-sick — As th' Utter Barrister of
Swanwick] * William Pryn, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq; born at Swan-
 wick, who stiled himself *Utter Barrister*, a very warm person, and
 voluminous writer; and, after the restoration, keeper of the records in
 the Tower." See W. Pryn, *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 311. edit.
 1692. and the meaning of *Utter Barrister*, *Manley's Interpreter*; *Ja-*
cob's Law Dictionary, and *Chambers's Cyclopædia*.

Impeach'd the rest for reprobates,
 That had no titles to estates,
 But by their spiritual attaints
 Degraded from the right of *saints*.
 This being reveal'd, they now begun 75
 With law and conscience to fall on :
 And laid about as hot and brain-sick
 As th' *Utter Barrister of Swanswick* ;
 Engag'd with money-bags, as bold
 As men with sand-bags did of old ; 80
 That brought the lawyers in more fees
 Than all unsanctify'd trustees :
 Till he who had no more to show
 I' th' case, receiv'd the overthrow ;
 Or both sides having had the worst, 85
 They parted as they met at first.
 Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd,
 Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd !

v. 80. *As men with sand-bags did of old*] When the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought with sword and lance ; and when by yeomen, with sand-bags fastened to the end of a truncheon. (Mr. W.) To this custom Ben Jonson alludes, (in his *Underwood*, in the *King's Entertainment*, 1633, vol. 1. p. 276.)

*Go, Captain Stub, lead on, and show
 What house you come on by the blow
 You give Sir Quintain, and the cuff
 You scape o' th' sand-bag's counter-buff.*

See the combat between Horner and Peter Thump, with Mr. Warburton's note, *Shakespear's Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, act 2. vol. 4. p. 233. and the proposal of the '*Squire of the Wood* to Sancho Pancha, to fight with a couple of linen bags, with half a dozen smooth stones in each bag. *Don Quixote*, vol. 3. chap. 14. p. 128.

Turn'd out, and excommunicate
 From all affairs of church and state, 90
 Reform'd t' a reformado saint,
 And glad to turn itinerant,

v. 87. *Poor Presbyterian was now reduc'd*] The Independents and other sectaries spawned from them, being supported by Oliver Cromwell and the army, soon deprived the Presbyterians of all the power the Lords and Commons had begun to give them. This is alluded to v. 1141, &c.

Mr. Fry, a member of Parliament, (see his tract, intitled, *The Accuser shamed*, &c. 1648, p. 12.) says, "That rigid Sir John Presbyterian was desperately sick — and that he would as soon put a sword in the hands of a mad-man, as into the hands of a high-flying Presbyterian."

And in *The last Will and Testament of Sir John Presbyterian, printed in the year of Jubilee 1647*, p. 7. are the following lines :

*Here lies Jack Presbyterian, void of all pity,
 Who ruin'd the country, and fooled the city;
 He turn'd preaching to prating, and telling of lies,
 Caus'd jars and dimensions in all families;
 He invented new oaths, rebellion to raise,
 Deceiving the Commons, whilst on them he preys.
 He made a new creed, despised the old;
 King, State, and Religion, by him bought and sold.
 He four years consulted, and yet could not tell
 The Parliament, the way Christ went into Hell:
 Resolved therein he never would be
 Therefore in great haste, he's gone thither to see.*

v. 88. *Secluded*] Alluding to the seclusion of the Presbyterian members from the house, in order to the King's trial.

v. 91. *Reform'd t' a reformado saint*] See *Reformado*, *Bailey's Dictionary*.

v. 92. *And glad to turn itinerant*] "April 12, 1649, it was referred to a committee, to consider of a way how to raise pensions, and allowances out of dean and chapters' lands, to maintain supernumerary Ministers, who should be authorized to go up and down, compassing the earth, and adulterating other men's pulpits and congregations." *History of Independency*, part 2. p. 156.

Hugh Peters (in a tract, intitled, *A Word to the Army, and two Words to the Kingdom*, 1647, p. 11. (*Public Library, Cambridge*, 19, 7, 20.) advises, "That two or three *Itinerary Preachers* may be sent by the state into every county; and a committee of godly men, to send

To stroll and teach from town to town,
 And those he had taught up, teach down,
 And make those uses serve again, 95
 Against the new-enlighten'd men :
 As fit, as when at first they were
 Reveal'd against the Cavalier :
 Damn Anabaptist and fanatic,
 As pat as popish, and prelatiç ; 100
 And with as little variation,
 To serve for any sect i' th' nation.
 The *good old cause*, which some believe
 To be the Dev'l that tempted Eve
 With knowledge, and does still invite 105
 The world to mischief with *new light*,
 Had store of money in her purse,
 When he took her for bett'r or worse ;
 But now was grown deform'd and poor,
 And fit to be turn'd out of door. 110

out men of honesty, holiness, and parts, to all counties, recommended from their test." For a further account of these *Itinerants*, see *Vavasser Powell. Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* 1st edit. part 2. col. 343, 344, &c.

v. 94. *And those he had taught up, teach down*] The Independents urged the very same doctrines against the Presbyterians, which the Presbyterians had before used against the Bishops, such as the *no necessity of Ordination* by the hands of the Presbytery: And that *church government was committed to the Community of the faithful*. Which doctrines, and others of the like nature, Presbyterians had preached up, in order to pull down the Bishops: but when the Independents used those arguments against the government they would have set up, they preached them down again. (Dr. B.)

v. 103. *The good old cause*] The *covenant* and *protestation*, for which they first pretended to take up arms.

v. 111. *The Independents*] See the best account of that sect, in the *History of Independency*, by *Clement Walker, Esq.*; a zealous Presby-

The Independents (whose first station
 Was in the rear of reformation,
 A mongrel kind of church-dragoons,
 That serv'd for horse and foot at once :
 And in the saddle of one steed 115
 The Saracen and Christian rid :
 Were free of ev'ry spiritual order
 To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder :)

terian, and secluded member. The first Part of his Book was published in the year 1648. The second Part, intitled, *Anarchia Anglicana* 1649. By *Theodorus Verax*. Mr. Walker being discovered to be the author by Cromwell, was committed prisoner to the Tower of London, the 13th of November, 1649, where he wrote the third Part, intitled, *The High Court of Justice, or Cromwell's Bloody Slaughter House*, published in the Year 1651. After the restoration, a fourth Part was added, by T. M. Esq.; and all four published together in a thick quarto, 1660—1. And *Bastwick's Routing of the Independent Army*, 4to.

v. 112, 115, 116. *Was in the rear of reformation,—And in the saddle of one steed—The Saracen and Christian rid*] See an account of the rise of the Independents in the year 1643, where Independency is compared to Mahometism, *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 435.

Mr. Walker (*History of Independency*, part 1. p. 27.) says, “The Independents are a composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk.”

v. 117. *Were free of ev'ry spiritual order*] The Romish orders here alluded to, are the Jesuits, the Knights of Malta, the Fathers of the Oratory, and the Dominicans, who are at the head of the Inquisition. (Mr. W.)

It was so in Mr. Butler's time; but Mr. Baker observes, (*History of the Inquisition*, chap. 7. p. 48) “That this office is not as formerly committed to the Predicants, or Dominican Friars: they began to employ it in the secular clergy, who were skilful in the decrees and laws; till at last the whole power gradually devolved on them: so that now the Dominican Friars have no part in it, though the Inquisitors oftentimes use their assistance in judging of propositions; and they are employed as counsellors in the Holy Office.”

v. 118. *To preach, and fight, &c.*] The officers and soldiers among the Independents got into pulpits, and preached, and prayed, as well as

No sooner got the start to lurch
 Both disciplines, of war and church, 120
 And providence enough to run
 The chief commanders of 'em down,
 But carried on the war against
 The common enemy o' th' *saints*,
 And in a while prevail'd so far, 125
 To win of them the game of war,
 And he at liberty once more
 T' attack themselves as th' had before.

fought: Oliver Cromwell was famed for a preacher, and has a sermon in print, intitled, *Cromwell's Learned, Devout, and Conscientious Exercise, held at Sir Peter Temple's in Lincoln's Inn Fields, upon Romans xiii. 1. [penes me]* In which are the following flowers of rhetoric: "Dearly beloved brethren and sisters, it is true this text is a *malignant* one; the wicked and ungodly have abused it very much; but, thanks be to God, it was to their own ruin; p. 1. But now that I spoke of kings, the question is, whether by the *higher powers*, are meant kings or commoners? Truly beloved, it is a very great question among those that are learned: for may not every one, that can read, observe, that Paul speaks in the plural number, *higher powers*; now, had he meant subjection to a *King*, he would have said, *Let every soul be subject to the higher power*. If he had meant one man; but by this you see he meant more than one: he bids us *be subject to the higher powers, that is, the Council of State, the House of Commons, and the Army.*" *ibid.* p. 3.

When in the *humble petition* there was inserted an article against *public preachers being Members of Parliament*, Oliver Cromwell excepted against it expressly, "Because he (he said) was one, and divers officers of the army, by whom much good had been done—and therefore desired they would explain their article." (*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 408.)

Ibid. — and *pray, and murder*] Sir Roger L'Estrange observes, (*Reflection upon Poggius's Fable of the Husband, Wife, and ghostly Father*, part 1. fab. 357.) upon the pretended saints of those times, "That they did not set one step in the whole tract of this iniquity, without *seeking the Lord first, and going up to enquire of the Lord*,

For now there was no foe in arms,
 T' unite their factions with alarms, 130
 But all reduc'd and overcome,
 Except their worst, themselves at home :
 Wh' had compass'd all they pray'd, and swore,
 And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for,
 Subdu'd the nation, church and state, 135
 And all things but their laws and hate.
 But when they came to treat and transact,
 And share the spoil of all th' had ransack'd,
 To botch up what th' had torn and rent,
 Religion and the government, 140
 They met no sooner, but prepar'd
 To pull down all the war had spar'd :
 Agreed in nothing, but t' abolish,
 Subvert, extirpate, and demolish.

according to the cant of those days ; which was no other than to make God the author of sin : and to impute the blackest practices of Hell, to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost."

It was with this pretext of *seeking the Lord in prayer*, that Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and others of the Regicides, cajoled General Fairfax, who was determined to rescue the King from execution, giving orders to have it speedily done : and when they had notice that it was over, they persuaded the General, that this was a full return of prayer ; and God having so manifested his pleasure, they ought to acquiesce in it. (*Perinchief's Life of King Charles, prefixt to his Works*, p. 91.)

*So the late saints of blessed memory,
 Cut throats in godly pure sincerity ;
 So they with lifted hands, and eyes devout,
 Said grace, and carv'd a slaughter'd monarch out.*

Oldham's Second Satire upon the Jesuits, p. 26. edit. 1703.

v. 136. *And all things but their laws and hate*] i. e. The laws of the laud, and the hatred of the people.

For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin, 145
 As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin,
 Both parties join'd to do their best,
 To damn the public interest ;
 And herded only in consults,
 To put by one another's bolts ; 150
 T' out-cant the Babylonian labourers,
 At all their dialects of jabberers,
 And tug at both ends of the saw,
 To tear down government and law.
 For as two cheats, that play one game 155
 Are both defeated of their aim ;
 So those who play a game of state,
 And only cavil in debate,
 Although there's nothing lost nor won,
 The public bus'ness is undone, 160

v. 146. *As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin*] * It is reported of the Dutch women, that making so great use of stoves, and often putting them under their petticoats, they engender a kind of ugly monster, which is called a *sooterkin*." See *Cleveland's Character of a London Diurnal*, Works 1677, p. 103.

v. 151, 152. *T' out-cant the Babylonian labourers,—At all their dialects of jabberers*] Dubartas thus describes the confusion at Babel : (*Divine Weekes and Workes*, p. 418.)

*This said, as soon confusedly did bound
 Through all the work, I wote not what strange sound,
 A jangling noise ; not much unlike the rumours
 Of Bacchus' swains, amid their drunken humours :
 Some speak between the teeth, some in the nose,
 Some in the throat their words do ill dispose ;
 Some howl, some halloo, some do stut and strain ;
 Each hath his gibberish, and all strive in vain
 To find again their known beloved tongue,
 That with their milk they suckt in cradle young.*

Which still the longer 'tis in doing,
Becomes the surer way to ruin.

This, when the Royalists perceiv'd,
(Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,
And own'd the right they had paid down 165
So dearly for, the church and crown,)
Th' united constanter, and sided
The more, the more their foes divided :
For though out-number'd, overthrown,
And by the fate of war run down ; 170
Their duty never was defeated,
Nor from their oaths and faith retreated ;
For loyalty is still the same,
Whether it win or lose the game ;
True as the dial to the sun, 175
Although it be not shin'd upon.
But when these bretheren in evil,
Their adversaries, and the Devil,
Began once more, to shew them play,
And hopes, at least, to have a day ; 180

v. 163. *This, when the Royalists perceiv'd.*] What a lasting monument of fame has our Poet raised to the Royalists! What merited praises does he bestow on their unshaken faith and loyalty! How happily does he applaud their constancy and sufferings! If any thing can be a compensation to those of that party, who met with unworthy disregard and neglect after the restoration, it must be this never-dying eulogy: Butler, alas! was one of that unfortunate number. (Mr. B.)

v. 175. *True as the dial to the sun, &c.*] The writer of the preface to *The wicked Plots of the pretended Saints, &c.* compares Mr. Foulis, the author, to *Little Loyal John*, in the epitaph; -

*For the King, Church, and blood-royal,
He went as true as any sun-dial.*

They rally'd in parades of woods,
 And unfrequented solitudes :
 Conven'd at midnight in out-houses,
 T' appoint new-rising rendezvouzes,
 And with a pert'nacy unmatch'd, 185
 For new recruits of danger watch'd.
 No sooner was one blow diverted,
 But up another party started,
 And, as if nature too in haste
 To furnish out supplies as fast, 190
 Before her time had turn'd destruction
 T' a new and numerous production ;
 No sooner those were overcome,
 But up rose others in their room,
 That, like the Christian faith, increas'd 195
 The more, the more they were suppress :
 Whom neither chains, nor transportation,
 Proscription, sale, or confiscation,
 Nor all the desperate events
 Of former try'd experiments, 200
 Nor wounds, cou'd terrify, nor mangling,
 To leave off loyalty and dangling ;

v. 197. *Whom neither chains, nor transportation, &c.*] All the methods here mentioned were made use of to dispirit the Cavaliers, but to no purpose.

v. 201, 202. *Nor wounds, cou'd terrify, nor mangling,—To leave off loyalty and dangling*] The brave spirit of loyalty was not to be suppressed by the most barbarous and inhuman usage. There are several remarkable instances upon record ; as that of the gallant Marquis of Montrose. (See *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 67, &c.) The loyal Mr. Gerard, and Mr. Vowel, in 1654. (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 761.) Of

Nor death, with all his bones, affright
 From vent'ring to maintain the right,
 From staking life and fortune down 205
 'Gainst all together, for the crown :
 But kept the title of their cause
 From forfeiture, like claims in laws :
 And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation
 Can ever settle on the nation ; 210

Mr. Penruddock, Grove, and others, who suffered for their loyalty at Exeter 1654-5. (*Echard*, vol. 2. p. 774.) Of Captain Reynolds, who had been of the King's party, and when he was going to be turned off the ladder, cried *God bless King Charles—Vive le Roy*. (*Whitelock's Memorials*, 2d edit. p. 435.) Of Dalgely, one of Montrose's party, who being sentenced to be beheaded, and being brought to the scaffold, ran and kissed it; and without any speech or ceremony, laid down his head upon the block, and was beheaded. (*Whitelock*, *ibid.* p. 459.) Of the brave Sir Robert Spotswood. (*Bishop Wishart's History of Montrose*, p. 173.) Of Mr. Courtney and Mr. Portman, who were committed to the Tower the beginning of February 1657, for dispersing among the soldiers what were then called *sedition* books and pamphlets. (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 402. p. 302.) Of Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet. (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 419. p. 583, &c. *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 818.)

Nor ought the loyalty of the six counties of North Wales to be passed over in silence, who never addressed or petitioned during the usurpation. (*Mercurius Publicus*, No. 24. p. 369.) Nor the common soldier mentioned in the *Oxford Diurnal*, first week, p. 6. *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 203. See more in the story of *The impertinent Sheriff*, *L'Estrange's Fables*, part 2. fab. 265. Mr. Butler, or Pryn, (see *Mola Arinaria*, *Butler's Spurious Remains*) speaking of the gallant behaviour of the loyalists, says, "Other nations would have canonized for martyrs, and erected statues after their death to the memory of some of our compatriots, whom ye have barbarously defaced and mangled, yet alive, for no other motive but their undaunted zeal."

v. 208. *From forfeiture, like claims in laws*] See *continual claims*, *Coke's Institutes*, first Part, lib. 3. sect. 414. fol. 250. 10th edition.

Until, in spite of force and treason,
 They put their loy'lty in possession ;
 And by their constancy and faith,
 Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.

Toss'd in a furious hurricane, 215
 Did OLIVER give up his reign ;
 And was believ'd, as well by *saints*,
 As moral men and miscreants,
 To founder in the Stygian ferry :
 Until he was retriev'd by STERRY, 220

v. 215, 216. *Toss'd in a furious hurricane,—Did OLIVER give up his reign*] *At Oliver's death was a most furious tempest, such as had not been known in the memory of man, or hardly ever recorded to have been in this nation." See *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. It is observed in a tract, intitled, *No Fool to the Old Fool*, (*L'Estrange's Apology*, p. 93.) "That he [Oliver] after a long course of treason, murder, sacrilege, perjury, rapine, &c. finished his accursed life in agony and fury, and without any mark of true repentance." See Thurloe's canting letter, occasioned by his death, to Henry Cromwell, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 7. p. 372, &c. Though most of our historians mention the hurricane at his death, yet few take notice of the storm in the northern counties that day the House of Peers ordered the digging up his carcase, with other regicides. (See *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 51. p. 816.) The author of *The Parley between the Ghost of the late Protector and the King of Sweden in Hell*, 1660, p. 19, merrily observes, "That he was even so turbulent and seditious there, that he was chained by way of punishment in the general pissing-place, next the court-door, with a strict charge, that nobody that made water thereabouts should piss any where but against his body.

v. 219. *To founder in the Stygian ferry.*]

*Old Oliver's gone to the dogs ;
 Oh ! no, I do mistake ;
 He's gone in a wherry
 Over the ferry
 Is call'd the Stygium lake ;*

Who in a false erroneous dream
Mistook the New Jerusalem,
Profanely for th' apocryphal
False heaven at the *End o' th' Hall*;

*But Cerberus, that great porter,
Did read him such a lecture,
That made him to roar
When he was come on shore
For being Lord Protector.*

Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, No. 3. p. 6.

v. 220. *Until he was retriev'd by STERRY.*] The news of Oliver's death being brought to those who were met to pray for him, Mr. Peter Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled; "for (said he) this is good news, because, if he was of use to the people of God, when he was amongst us, he will be much more so now, being ascended into Heaven at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us; and to be mindful of us upon all occasions." (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 825. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. 2. p. 612. See a tract, intitled, *No Fool to the Old Fool*, published with *L'Estrange's Apology*, p. 93. *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 154.) Dr. South makes mention of an Independent divine, (*Sermons*, vol. I. serm. 3. p. 102.) who, when Oliver was sick, of which sickness he died, declared, "That God revealed to him, that he should recover, and live thirty years longer; for that God had raised him up for a work, which could not be done in a less time: but Oliver's death being published two days after, the said divine publicly in his prayers expostulated with God the defeat of his prophesy in these words: *Thou hast lied unto us; yea, thou hast lied unto us.*"

So familiar were those wretches with God Almighty, that Dr. Echard observes of one of them, (see his *Observation upon the Answer to the Enquiry into the Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy*, p. 106.) "That he pretended to have got such an interest in Christ, and such an exact knowledge of affairs above, that he could tell the people, that he had just before received an express from Jesus, upon such a business, and that the ink was scarce dry upon the paper."

v. 224. *False heaven, &c.*] * After the restoration, Oliver's body was dug up, and his head set up at the farther end of Westminster-Hall, near which place there is an house of entertainment, which is commonly known by the name of *Heaven*."

Whither it was decreed by fate 225

His precious reliques to translate.

So Romulus was seen before

B' as orthodox a senator ;

From whose divine illumination

He stole the pagan revelation. 230

Next him his Son and Heir apparent

Succeeded, though a lame vicegerent ;

v. 227. *So Romulus, &c.*] * A Roman senator, whose name was Proculus, and much beloved by Romulus, made oath before the Senate, that this Prince appeared to him after his death, and predicted the future grandeur of that city, promising to be protector of it ; and expressly charged him, that he should be adored there under the name of Quirinus ; and he had his temple on Mount Quirinal.

v. 231, 232. *Next him his Son and Heir apparent—Succeeded, though a lame vicegerent*] * Oliver's eldest son Richard was by him, before his death, declared his successor ; and, by order of the Privy Council, proclaimed *Lord Protector*, and received the compliments of congratulation and condolence, at the same time, from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen ; and addresses were presented to him from all parts of the nation, promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. He summoned a Parliament to meet at Westminster, which recognized him Lord Protector ; yet notwithstanding, Fleetwood, Desborough, and their partisans, managed affairs so, that he was obliged to resign.' The author of *The Tale of the Cocker and Vicar of Bray*, expresses himself to the same purpose : (*Butler's Spurious Remains.*)

What's worse, old Noll is marching off,

And Dick, his heir apparent,

Succeeds him in the government,

A very lame vicegerent :

He'll reign but little time, poor tool,

But sink beneath the state ;

That will not fail to ride the fool

'Bove common horseman's weight.

And another Poet speaks of him, and his brother Henry, in the following manner :

Who first laid by the Parliament,
 The only crutch on which he leant :
 And then sunk underneath the state 235
 That rode him above horseman's weight.

*But young Dick and Harry, not his heirs but his brats,
 As if they had less wit and grace than gib-cats,
 Slunk from their commands, like a brace of drown'd rats.*

The Rump Carbonadoed. Loyal Songs, vol. 2. p. 122.

What opinion the world had of him we learn from Lord Clarendon's account of his visit *incog.* to the Prince of Conti, at Pezenas, who received him civilly, as he did all strangers ; and particularly the English : and after a few words, (not knowing who he was,) " The Prince began to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him ? Which the other answered according to the truth. Well, said the Prince, Oliver, though he was a traitor, and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command. But that Richard, that coxcomb, coquin, poltroon, was surely the basest fellow alive ; what is become of that fool ? How is it possible he could be such a sot ? He answered, That he was betrayed by those he most trusted, and had been most obliged by his father : So being weary of his visit, he quickly took his leave, and next morning left the town, out of fear that the Prince might know, that he was that very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly ; and two days after the Prince did come to know who he was that he had treated so well." (*Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3. p. 519.)

v. 233, 234. *Who first laid by the Parliament,—The only crutch on which he leant*] See this in some measure disproved, *Life of Secretary Thurloe, prefixed to his Letters*, p. 17. See a song intitled, *Second Part of Knaves out of Doors. Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731, vol. 2. No. 17. p. 69. *Arsey Versy, or, the Second Martyrdom of the Rump*, sect. 4. vol. 2. p. 92.

v. 237. *And now the saints began their reign, &c.*] A sneer upon the *Committee of Safety* ; amongst whom was Sir Henry Vane, who (as Lord Clarendon observes, vol. 3. b. 16. p. 544.) " was a perfect enthusiast, and without doubt did believe himself inspired ; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, that he did at the same time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon

And now the *saints* began their reign,
 For which th' had yearn'd so long in vain,
 And felt such bowel-hankerings,
 To see an *empire all of kings*, 240
 Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe
 Of justice, government, and law,
 And free t' erect what spiritual cantons
 Should be reveal'd, or *Gospel Hans-Towns*,
 To edify upon the ruins 245
 Of John of Leyden's old out-goings;

earth for a thousand years." See an account of him in *Baxter's Life*, in folio, p. 74. who mentions a sect, called from him, *Vanists*.

v. 241, 242. *Deliver'd from the Egyptian awe—Of justice, government, and law*] Dr. James Young observes, (*Sidrophel Vapulans*, p. 13. from *Mr. Pryn's True and Perfect Narrative*, &c. p. 60.) "That two Jesuitical prognosticators, Lilly and Culpeper, were so confident, ann. 1652, of the total subversion of the *Law and Gospel Ministry*, that in their scurrilous prognostications, they predicted the downfall of both: and in 1654, they foretold, that the law should be pulled down to the ground, the great charter, and all our liberties destroyed, as not suiting with Englishmen in these blessed times: that the crab-tree of the law should be pulled up by the roots, and grow no more, there being no reason now we should be governed by them."

v. 244. ——— *Gospel Hans-Towns*] The Germans bordering on the sea, being antiently infested by barbarians, for their better defence, entered into a mutual league, and gave themselves the name of *Hans-Towns*, either from the sea, on which they bordered, or from their faith, which they had plighted to one another with their own hand (*hansæ*); or from the same word, which in their language signified a league, society, or association. *Baily*.

v. 245, 246. *To edify upon the ruins—Of John of Leyden's old out-goings*] John Buckold, Becold, or Bokelson, an Anabaptist taylor, (some say a shoemaker, or cobbler) of Leyden, mock King of Munster, was hung, with two of his rebel associates, (all in iron cages) upon the highest tower of the city, called Saint Lambert's. (Vide *Johann. Sleidan. Comment. lib. 10. p. 207, 208. Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1568. Chronic. Chronicor. Ecclesiastic. lib. 2. p. 553. Mezeray's History of*

Who for a weather-cock hung up,
 Upon their mother church's top ;
 Was made a type, by providence,
 Of all their revelations since ; 250
 And now fulfill'd by his successors,
 Who equally mistook their measures :
 For when they came to shape the model,
 Not one could fit another's noddle ;
 But found their light and gifts more wide 255
 From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd ;
 While ev'ry individual brother
 Strove hand to fist against another.
 And still the maddest and most crack't
 Were found the busiest to transact ; 260
 For though most hands dispatch apace
 And make light work, (the proverb says ;)
 Yet many diff'rent intellects
 Are found t' have contrary effects ;
 And many heads t' obstruct intrigues, 265
 As slowest insects have most legs.

France, part 2. p. 598. *Dupin's Ecclesiastical History of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 182. *Abridgment of Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Low Countries*, vol. 1. p. 48. *Alexander Ross's View of all Religions*, 6th edit. p. 411. *Misson's new Voyage to Italy, &c.* vol. 1. p. 17.)

Then John of Leyden, Noll, and all
 Their goblin ghostly train,
 Brave rebel saints, triumphant shall
 Begin the second reign.

Sir John Birkenhead Revived, p. 35.

v. 267, 268. *Some were for setting up a King, — But all the rest for no such thing*]

Some were for setting up a king,
 But all the rest for no such thing,
 Unless King Jesus ;—others tamper'd
 For FLEETWOOD, DESBOROUGH, and LAMBERT ; 270

*Some for a king, and some for none ;
 And some have hankerings
 To mend the commonwealth, and make
 An empire of all kings.*

Tale of the Cocker and Vicar of Bray. Butler's Spurious Remains, p. 153.

Harry Martyn, in his speech, in the debate, *Whether a King, or no King ?* said, " That if they must have a King, they had rather have had the last, than any gentleman in England : he found no fault in his person, but office." (*Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 150)

v. 269. *Unless King Jesus ; &c.*] Alluding to the *Fifth Monarchy Men*, who had formed a plot to dethrone Cromwell, and set up King Jesus. (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 815.)

*Cæsar, not Christ, the ancient Jews
 Paid tribute of their treasure ;
 Our Jews, no King but Christ will chuse,
 And rob, and cry down Cæsar.*

Mercurius Pragmaticus, No. 6. May 9, 1648.

*But seven years of a thousand 'tis
 Our saints must rulers be ;
 For they shall lose in years of bliss,
 Nine hundred ninety three.*

Mercurius Pragmaticus, num. 8. (See *Sir J. Birkenhead Revived*, p. 37.)

*But Overton most with wonder doth seize us,
 By securing of Hull, for no less than Christ Jesus :
 Hoping (as it by the story appears)
 To be there his lieutenant for one thousand years.*

Arsy Verry, st. 25. *Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731, vol. 2. No. 20.

The fifth Monarchy men published their tenets before Cromwell arrived at his pitch of grandeur, as appears from the two following tracts. (*penes me.*)

The sounding of the last Trumpet ; or several Visions declaring the universal Overturning, and rooting up of all earthly Powers in England,

Some for the *Rump*, and some more crafty,
 For *agitators*, and the *safety* ;
 Some for the Gospel, and massacres
 Of spiritual affidavit-makers,

With many other Things foretold, which shall come to pass in this Year 1650. Lately shewed unto George Foster, who was commanded to print them. Printed in the Year 1650.

Sion's approaching Glory: or the great and glorious Day of the Lord King Jesus his appearing; Before whom all the Kings of the Nations must fall, and never rise again: accurately described, according to the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, in Three and Forty Sections.—By James Freze, Merchant. London, printed for W. Larnar—1652. In 1654, John Spittlehouse published A Vindication of the Fifth Monarchy Men; in Answer to a Speech of O. Cromwell's in the painted Chamber, September 4, 1654. Mr. Bridges, in his dedication prefixed to A Thanksgiving Sermon before the Commons, May 17, 1648, (see Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers, p. 76.) exhorts them, "to do what in them lies, to bring the blessed King Jesus into his throne of inheritance." See a further account of their principles from their printed book, intitled, The Standard. Mercurius Politicus, num. 358. p. 7742, &c. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. 2. p. 604. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 6. p. 184. Simple Cöbler of Agawam in America, p. 19. Alexander Ross's View of all Religions in the World, p. 260, 261.

v. 269, 270. ———— *Others tamper'd—For FLEETWOOD*] Fleetwood was a lieutenant general, he married Ireton's widow, (Cromwell's eldest daughter) was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland by Cromwell, major-general of divers counties, one of Oliver's upper House, his salary supposed to be 6600*l.* a year. (*Second Narrative of the late Parliament, so called, 1658, p. 14. penes me*)

v. 270. ———— *DESBOROUGH* ————] A yeoman of sixty or seventy pounds per annum; (some say a ploughman.) In a tract, intitled, *A Brief Account of the Meeting, Proceedings, and Exit of the Committee of Safety*, London 1659, (p. 9. *penes me*) Bennet speaking to Desborough, says,—"when your Lordship was a ploughman, and wore high shoon—Ha! how the Lord raiseth some men, and depresseth others."

Janizary Desbrow then look'd pale,

For said he, if this Rump prevail,

'Twill blow me back to my old plough-tail.

Which nobody can deny.

The Rump. A Song. Collect. of Loyal Songs, vol. 2. p. 29.

That swore to any human regence, 275
 Oaths of suprem'cy and allegiance :
 Yea, though the ablest swearing *saint*,
 That vouch'd the bulls o' th' *covenant* :

Desborough married Cromwell's sister, cast away his spade, and took up a sword, and was made a colonel,—was instrumental in raising Cromwell to the Protectorship : upon which he was made one of his council, a general at sea, and major-general of divers counties of the west ; and was one of Oliver's upper House, *Second Narrative of the Parliament, so called*, p. 15. The writer of the *First Narrative of the Parliament, so called*, observes, p. 9. that his annual income was 323*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The author of the *Parable of the Lion and Fox* (*Butler's Spurious Remains*) girds him severely in the following lines.

*Says Desborough, for that his name was,
 Who afterwards grew very famous ;
 And as his neighbours all can tell,
 I th' civil wars was colonel :
 Nay some there be that will not stick
 To say, he was so politick ;
 Or if you will, so great a rogue,
 That when rebellion was in vogue,
 That he among the rest was one,
 That doom'd his king to martyrdom.*

See his name in the list of the regicides, *Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 103. and a further account of him, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 7. p. 823.

Ibid. ———— and LAMBERT] *Lambard* in the first edit. 1678, altered 1684. He was one of the Rump generals, and a principal opposer of General Monk, in the restoration of King Charles the Second, (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 872.) The writer of the *Narrative of the late Parliament, so called*, 1657, p. 9. observes, that Major General Lambert, as one of Oliver's council, had 1000*l.* per ann. which, with his other places, in all amounted to 6512*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

v. 272. *For agitators, &c.*] In 1647, (see *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 569) the army made choice of a set number of officers, which they called, the general council of officers ; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, mostly corporals and serjeants, who were called by the name of *agitators*, and were to be a *House of Commons* to the council of officers : these drew up a declara-
 VOL. III.

Others for pulling down th' high-places
 Of *Synods* and *Provincial Classes*, 280
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads
 Upon the *saints*, like bloody Nimrods :

tion, that they would not be disbanded, till their arrears were paid, and a full provision made for liberty of conscience.

In a ludicrous speech made for the Earl of Pembroke, (*Butler's Spurious Remains*, p. 266.) are the following words: " I perceive your Lordships think better of me, and would acquit me, if I was not charged by the *agitators*.——'Sdeath, what's that! who ever heard the word before! I understand *classical*, *provincial*, *congregational*, *national*: but for *agitator*, it may be, for aught I know, a knave not worth three-pence: if *agitators* cut noblemen's throats, you'll find the devil has been an *agitator*."

Some of the positions of the *agitators* here follow: " That all inns of court and chancery, all courts of justice now erected, as well civil as ecclesiastical, with the common, civil, canon and statute laws, formerly in force, and all corporations, tenures, copyholds, rents and services, with all titles and degrees of honour, nobility, and gentry, elevating one free subject above another, may be totally abolished, as clogs, snares and grievances to a free-born people, and inconsistent with that universal parity and equal condition which ought to be among freemen, and opposite to the communion of saints.

" That all the lands and estates of deans, chapters, prebends, universities, colleges, halls, free-schools, cities, corporations, ministers' glebe-lands, and so much of the lands of the nobility, gentry, and rich citizens and yeomen, as exceeds the sum of three hundred pounds *per annum*, and all the revenues of the crown belonging to the King or his children, be equally divided between the officers and soldiers, and the army, to satisfy their arrears, and recompence their good services."

The Total and Final Demands, already made by, and to be expected from the Agitators and Army.—London, printed 1647, p. 6. *Public Library, Cambridge*, xix. 9. 3.

See *Hampton Court Conspiracy, with the Downfall of the Agitators and Levellers, who would admit no Distinction of Birth or Title, and out of the Lands of the whole Kingdom in general, would proportion an equal Estate to every Man in particular.* Printed 1647. *Publ. Libr. Cambr.*

Some for fulfilling prophecies,
 And th' extirpation of th' Excise ;
 And some against th' Egyptian bondage 285
 Of holy-days, and paying poundage :

The author, p. 6. defines an "*agitator* to be an arch tub traitor of this age, whom the Devil lately tossed out of the bottomless pit, to drive on his designs, prick principalities, and torment the times." (See *Mr. Peck's Notes on the Baptists, New Memoirs of Milton's Life*, p. 419.)

Ibid. ———— and the safety] *Committee of Safety*, a set of men who took upon them the government, upon displacing the Rump a second time. Their number amounted to twenty-three, which, though filled up with men of all parties, (Royalists excepted) yet was so craftily composed, that the balance was sufficiently secured to those of the army faction. (*Echard*, vol. 2. p. 854. See their names, *History of Independency*, part 4. p. 69, 70.)

*So here's a Committee of Safety compounded
 Of knave, and of fool, of papist and roundhead;
 On basis of treason, and tyranny grounded.*

The Committee of Safety, Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. 2. p. 148.

They are bantered by the author of a tract, intitled *A Parley between the Ghosts of the Protector and the King of Sweden in Hell*, (p. 10.) "*Fanatick Committee of Safety*, (saith the Protector) there's a word that requires another Calvin's industry to make a comment on it; and then naming them again, he fell into such a laughter, that he waked the great Devil, who was lying upon a bench hard by, something drunkish. What's the matter? cries Beelzebub. What's the matter! cries the Protector; can you lie sleeping there, and hear us talk of a *fanatick Committee of Safety*? Cudsbobs, quoth the Devil, this England is a plaguy country; Africa itself never bred such monsters; and upon that he began to call for his guard: but the King of Sweden soon prevented his fear, by the relation he made of their being turned out of commission."

v. 283. *Some for fulfilling prophecies*] i.e. Carrying their arms against the Pope, the Whore of Babylon. (Mr. W.)

v. 285, 286. *And some against th' Egyptian bondage,—Of holy-days:—*] There was an ordinance to abolish festivals, *Die Martis*, 8 Junii 1647, throughout England and Wales; and every second Tuesday in the month, to be allowed to scholars, apprentices, and other

Some for the cutting down of *groves*,
 And rectifying bakers' loaves :
 And some for finding out expedients
 Against the slav'ry of obedience. 290
 Some were for gospel-ministers,
 And some for red-coat seculars,
 As men most fit t' hold forth the word,
 And wield the one, and th' other sword.
 Some were for carrying on the work 295
 Against the Pope, and some, the Turk ;
 Some for engaging to suppress
 The *camisado* of surplices,

servants, for their recreation. This was confirmed by another ordinance of Lords and Commons, *Die Veneris*, 11 Junii 1647. and *Die Lune*, 28 Junii 1647. An additional ordinance was made concerning days of recreation allowed unto scholars, apprentices, and other servants, occasioned by the apprentices' petition, and propositions presented unto the Honourable House of Commons,—June 22, 1647.

v. 287. ———cutting down of groves] i. e. Demolishing the churches. (Mr. W.) Alluding to the old superstition of consecrating groves to idols. See notes upon the second book of *Mr. Cowley's Davideis*, Works, vol. 1. edit. 1707. p. 385.

v. 291, 292. *Some were for gospel-ministers,—And some for red coat seculars*] See an account of the six militant preachers at Whitehall with Oliver Cromwell, *Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 153. and of Major General Vernon's preaching, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 4. p. 328. and note upon Cornet Joyce's Sermon, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 7. p. 8. 18.

v. 297, 298. *Some for engaging to suppress—The camisado of surplices*] Their antipathy to the surplice is thus expressed by a writer of those times: "Have not they so long persecuted the poor surplice in most churches, that they have scarce left any man a shirt in the whole parish." (*The Judgment of an Old Grand Juryman in Oxfordshire, concerning the breaking of the late Treaty at Uxbridge. Oxford, 1645. p. 4. Public Library, Cambridge, xix. 9. 3.*) Mr. Warburton observes, "that when the soldiers, in a night expedition, put their shirts over

That gifts and dispensations hinder'd,
 And turn'd to th' outward man the inward ; 300
 More proper for the cloudy night
 Of popery, than gospel-light.
 Others were for abolishing
 That tool of matrimony, a ring,

their armour, in order to be distinguished, it is called a *camisade* : these sectaries were for suppressing the episcopal meetings, then held secretly, which the author with high humour calls a *camisade*."

The word is taken from the Latin word *camisia*, or the Greek *καμισιον*, which signifies a priest's white garment, or what we now call a surplice. See *Mr. Hearne's Glossary to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*, p. 597. *Skinner's Etymologicon Lingue Anglicanæ*, sub voce *camisade*. *Table to Barret's Theorike and Practike of Modern Wars*, 1598.

v. 303, 304. *Others were for abolishing—That tool of matrimony, a ring]*

*Because the wedding ring's a fashion old,
 And signifies by th' purity of gold,
 The purity requir'd i' th' marry'd payre ;
 And by th' rotundity, the union fayre,
 Which ought to be betwixt them endless, for
 No other reason, we that use abhor.*

A Long-winded Lay Lecture, published 1647, p. 5.

*They will not hear of wedding-rings,
 For to be us'd in their marriage ;
 But say, they're superstitious things,
 And do religion much disparage :
 They are but vain, and things profane
 Wherefore now, no wit bespeaks them,
 So to be ty'd unto the bride,
 But do it as the spirit moves them.*

A Curtain Lecture. Loyal Songs, vol. 1. No. 15.

See the objections of the Dissenters against the ring in marriage, answered by Dr. Comber, *Offices of Matrimony*, &c. folio edit. part 4. sect. 3. *Dr. Nicholls upon the Office of Matrimony*. *Mr. Wheatley's Rational Illustration*, folio edit. p. 407, &c.

v. 306. *Is marry'd only to a thumb]* *Thumb* is put for the rhyme's sake, for the fourth finger of the left hand; the ring being always put

With which th' unsanctify'd bridegroom 305
 Is marry'd only to a thumb ;
 (As wise as ringing of a pig,
 That us'd to break up ground, and dig)
 The bride to nothing but her will,
 That nulls the after-marriage still. 310

upon that finger by the bridegroom. The reason given by Aulus Gellius, (*Noct. Attic.* lib. 10. cap. 10.) that there is a small nerve in that finger, which communicates directly with the heart; for which reason, both Greeks and Romans wore it upon that finger.

The original of which custom is given by another author, in the following words. *Alcadas X Rex Assyriorum regnavit annis 33, & anno ejus 11. Sparta condita est a filio Phoronei, qui invenit usum annulorum: & in quarto digito poni anulum debere dixit, quia ab illo vena pertingit ad cor. Gobelini Personæ, Cosmodromii ætus 111. Meibomii Rer. Germanic. Tom. 1. p. 89.*

Pectus, & digito pignus fortasse dedisti, &c.

Juvenal. Sat. 6. 27, 28.

They say, thy hair the curling art is taught,

The wedding-ring perhaps already bought:

A sober man, like thee, to change his life!

What fury wou'd possess thee with a wife?

Mr. Dryden.

See a curious dissertation upon the ring finger, *Sir Thomas Browne's Vulgar Errors*, book 4. chap. 4. *Mr. Wheatly's Rational Illustration*, p. 409. *Dr. Wotton's Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, chap. 10. p. 133.

v. 308. *That us'd to*] *That is to*—edit. 1678. *That uses to*—edit. 1684, 1689, 1694, 1700, 1704, altered 1710 as it stands here.

v. 309. *The bride to nothing but her will*] The thing this quibble turns upon, is this—The first response the bride makes in the marriage ceremony is, *I will*. (Mr. W.)

Shakespeare alludes probably to the same thing, (*Love's Labour Lost*, act 1. vol. 2. p. 111.) in Boyet's words to Biron, when he enquired after Rosaline.

Biron. "Is she wedded, or no?"

Boyet. To her will, Sir, or so."

Some were for th' utter extirpation
 Of linsey-woolsey in the nation :
 And some against all idolizing
 The cross in shop-books, or baptizing :
 Others to make all things recant 315
 The christian, or sirname of *saint* ;
 And force all churches, streets, and towns,
 The holy title to renounce.

v. 311, 312. *Some were for th' utter extirpation—Of linsey-woolsey in the nation*] Some were for *Judaizing*, or observing some of the laws peculiar to that people. Linsey-woolsey being forbidden by the law. See *Deuteronomy* xxii. 11. (Mr. W.)

"That we may have an incorrupt religion, without guileful mixture: not a *linsey-woolsey* religion ; all new-born babes will desire word-milk, sermon-milk, without guile, without adulterating." *Thomas Hall's Fast Sermon*, July 27, 1642, p. 5.

v. 313, 314. *And some against all idolizing—The cross in shop-books*] Some were for using a sponge to the public debts. (Mr. W.) "Scriveners were commanded to shew their shop-books, that notice might be taken who were guilty of having money in their purses, that the fattest and fullest might be sequestered for delinquents." (*Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 189.) See their unreasonable antipathy to all sorts of crosses exposed, from a tract, intitled, "*A Dialogue between the Cross in Cheap and Charing Cross.*" *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's Third Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 81.

Sir John Birkenhead likewise banters those precisians : "An act for removing the alphabet cross from the children's primmer, and the cross from off the Speaker's mace, and for adding *St. Andrew's Cross* to *St. George's* in the State's-arms." (*Paul's Church-yard*, cent. 2. class 6. No. 139.)

"Resolved, &c. That all crosses are due to the state, and therefore all coin that is stamped with that superstitious kind of idolatry, is confiscated by modern laws to the *devil's melting pan.*" (*Paul's Church-yard*, cent. 3. class 11. No. 40. p. 21.)

v. 317, 318. *And force all churches, streets, and towns,—The holy title to renounce*] Churches, parishes, and even the Apostles, were *unsainted* in the mayoralty of the famous Alderman Pennington, and continued so to the year 1660. (See *Strype's Survey of London*, vol. 2.

Some 'gainst a *third estate of souls*,
 And bringing down the price of coals : 320
 Some for abolishing black-pudding,
 And eating nothing with the blood in ;

book 5. p. 7.) The malice and rage of both Roundheads and Cavaliers ran high upon this particular ; of which we have a merry instance in the case of Sir Roger de Coverley, which I cannot forbear transcribing. " That worthy Knight, being then but a stripling, had occasion to inquire which was the way to *St. Anne's Lane*, upon which the person whom he spoke to, instead of answering his question, called him a young *popish cur*, and asked him, who made *Anne* a *saint* ? The boy being in some confusion, enquired of the next he met, which was the way to *Anne's Lane* ? but was called a *prick-eared cur* for his pains ; and instead of being shewn the way, was told, that she had been a *saint* before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged. Upon this (says Sir Roger) I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but going into every lane of the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane ; by which ingenious artifice, he found out the place he enquired after, without giving offence to any party." *Spectator*, No. 125. (Mr. B.)

The Mayor of Colchester banished one of that town for a malignant and a Cavalier, (in the year 1643) whose name was *Parsons*, and gave this learned reason for this exemplary piece of justice, that it was an ominous name. *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. 16. p. 196.

v. 319. *Some 'gainst a third estate of souls*] I suppose he means the place which in the *New Testament* is called *āds*, and is there plainly distinguished from *Gehenna*, though both are translated by the English word *Hell* : Some persons in Mr. Butler's time began to write of this place as different both from Heaven and Hell ; and as the receptacle of all souls, good and bad, until the resurrection : Bishop Bull has two sermons printed on this *Middle State*. See likewise *Sir Peter King's Critical History of the Apostles' Creed upon the Article of Christ's Descent into Hell*. (Dr. B.)

v. 320. *And bringing down the price of coals*] Though Mr. Butler says in another place,

—those that write in rhyme still make
 The one verse for the other's sake ;
 For one for sense, and one for rhyme,
 I think sufficient at one time.

To abrogate them roots and branches ;
 While others were for eating haunches
 Of warriors, and now and then 325
 The flesh of kings and mighty men ;

I cannot but think, that this is either designed as a sneer upon Sir Arthur Hazlerig, who, when governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, without any public authority, presumed to lay a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon coals, which was estimated to amount to 50,000*l.* a year. (*Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 151.) And the author of a tract, intitled, *No Fool to the old Fool, L'Estrange's Apology*, p. 95. calls him, *the Episcopal Coal-Merchant, Sir Arthur for Durham*. A tax was laid upon coals by the Members at Westminster, of one pound ten shillings upon an hundred pound of great English, or Scotch coals. See a *Treatise of Excise* annexed to the *City Alarum*, 1645, p. 30. *Pub. Lib. Cambridge*, 19, 9, 3.) Or an allusion to a tract, intitled, *The Woodmonger's Remonstrance, or the Carman's Controversy rightly stated*. By *W. L. London*, 1649, p. 29. the title of one section, *Expedients to abate the Price of Sea Coal, penes me*: Or to a tract intitled, *Sea-Coal, Char-Coal, and Small-Coal; or, a Discourse between a Newcastle Collier, a Small-Coal Man, and a Collier of Croydon, concerning the Prohibition of Trade with Newcastle, and the fearful Complaint of the Poor of the City of London for the enhancing the Price of Sea-Coals*. *London*, 1643. *Penes me*; one paragraph of which I take the liberty of transcribing.

Small-Coal.—"As your faithful companion, and one that loves you very well, without offence let me advertise you: This enhancing your price already, and the fear that you will daily rise higher and higher, beget no small murmurs in the City. First and foremost, your brewers cry out they cannot make their ale and beer so strong as it was wont to be, by reason of the dearness or scarcity of fuel, and then all the good fellows, such as myself, that used to toast our noses over a good sea-coal fire of my kindling at an ale-house, with a pot of nappy ale, or invincible stale beer, cry out upon the smallness both of the fire and liquor, and curse your avarice, *Sea-Coal*, that occasions these disasters: for your bricklayers and builders with open throats exclaim at your scarcity; the bricks, which were badly burnt before, are now scarce burned at all, no more than if they were only baked in the sun, and are so brittle, that they will not hold the lay: cooks, that noble fraternity of Fleet-lane, and in general through the City, raise their meat at least two-pence in a

And some for breaking of their bones
 With rods of ir'n, by *secret ones* ;
 For thrashing mountains, and with spells
 For hallowing carriers' packs and bells : 330

joint ; and instead of roasting it twice or thrice, according to their ancient custom, sell it now blood-raw, to the detriment of the buyer. Finally, ale-houses rail at your dearness abominably, and all the poor people of this populous city, and its large suburbs, whose slender fortunes could not lay out so much money together as would lay their provision in for the whole winter, cry out with many bitter execrations, that they are forced to pay two or three pence in a bushel more than they were wont to do, and accuse your factors, *Sea-Coal*, as wharfmen, woodmongers, chandlers, and the like, of too apparent injustice and covetousness, in engrossing the whole store into their hands, and selling them at their own prices, as if there were a dearth of your commodities in the City, when it is very well known, there is provision enough of sea-coal to serve it plentifully, without supplies from Newcastle, for these twenty months and more : so that, if some course be not taken, the people, especially the poorer sort, must undergo great want."

v. 322. *And eating nothing with the blood in.*] See *Dr. Stuckford's Connection*, vol. 1. p. 96.

v. 323. *To abrogate them roots and branches.*] This was the spirit of the times : there was a proposal to carry twenty Royalists in front of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, to expose them to the fire of the enemy ; and one Gourdon moved, " That the Lady Capel and her children and the Lady Norwich might be sent to the General with the same directions, saying, their husbands would be careful of their safety : and when divers opposed so barbarous a motion, and alleged that Lady Capel was great with child, near her time, Gourdon pressed it the more eagerly, as if he had taken the General for a man-midwife." (*Walker's History of Independency*, part 1. p. 99.) Nay, it was debated at a council of war, (see *History of Independency*, part 2. p. 30. from *Sodgwick's Justice upon the Army's Remonstrance*) " To massacre and put to the sword all the King's party : the question put, was carried in the negative but by two votes." Their endeavours (says he, *History of Independency*, part 3. p. 11.) " was how to diminish the number of their opposites the Royalists and Presbyterians by a massacre ; for which purpose, many dark lanthorns were provided last winter, (1649) which, coming to the common rumour of the town, put them in danger of the infamy and ha-

Things that the legend never heard of,
But made the wicked sore afraid of.

The quacks of government, (who sate
At th' unregarded helm of state,

ted that would overwhelm them: so this was laid aside." A bill was brought in, 1656, for decimating the Royalists, but thrown out. (See *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 6. p. 20. 37, 38.) And this spirit was but too much encouraged by their clergy. Mr. Caryl (in a *Thanksgiving Sermon before the Commons*, April 23, 1644, p. 46) says, "If Christ will set up his kingdom upon the carcases of the slain, it well becomes all elders to rejoice, and give thanks. Cut them down with the sword of justice, root them out, and consume them as with fire, that no root may spring up again. (*George Walker before the Commons*, Jan. 29, 1644, p. 19. *Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, p. 46.) Of all Ahab's family, and persecuting house, there was not a man left to make water against the wall; not one man of all Baal's priests escaped, but all cut off." *Walker*, *ibid.* p. 39. *Century*, &c. *ibid.*

Of this spirit was Mr. George Swathe, minister of Denham in Suffolk, who in a prayer, July 13, 1641 or 42, (see *Swathe's Prayers*, p. 31.) has the following remarkable words: "Lord, if no composition will end the controversy between the King and the Parliament, but the king and his party will have blood; let them drink of their own cup; let their blood be spilled like water; let their blood be sacrificed to thee, O God, for the sins of our nation."

v. 327, 328. *And some for breaking of their bones—With rods of iron, &c.*] A sneer upon their canting abuse of *Psalm* ii. 9.

v. 329. *For thrashing mountains*] A sneer upon the cant of the *Fifth-monarchy Men*, (for their misapplication of that text, *Isaiah* xli. 15. *Thou shalt thrash the mountains, and beat them small, and shall make the hills as chaff*) of whom Mr. Thurloe observes, (*State Papers*, vol. 6. p. 185.) "That they encouraged one another with this, that though they were but worms, that yet they should be made instruments to thrash mountains."

v. 329, 330. —————and with spells—*For hallowing carriers' packs and bells*] Alluding to their horrid canting abuse of Scripture phrase, especially of those two passages, *Isaiah* xli. 15. *Zech.* xiv. 20.

Here are perform'd the conjurings and spells,

For christ'ning saints, and hawks, and carriers' bells.

Oldham's 4th Sat. against the Jesuits.

And understood this wild confusion 335
 Of fatal madness, and delusion,
 Must, sooner than a prodigy,
 Portend destruction to be nigh,)

Consider'd timely, how t' withdraw,
 And save their wind-pipes from the law: 340
 For one rencounter at the bar
 Was worse than all th' had scap'd in war;
 And therefore met in consultation
 To cant and quack upon the nation;
 Not for the sickly patient's sake, 345
 Nor what to give, but what to take:
 To feel the pulses of their fees,
 More wise than fumbling arteries;
 Prolong the snuff of life in pain,
 And from the grave recover——*gain*. 350
 'Mong these there was a politician,
 With more heads than a *beast in vision*,

v. 332. ————*afeard of*] *Afraid of*, edit. 1678, altered to, *afeard of*, 1684.

v. 333. *The quacks of government*] These were the politicians of those times; namely, Mr. Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, Annesley, Manchester, Roberts, and some others, who were apprehensive of a revolution; they saw the necessity of a restoration, that matters might fall again into their right channel; after the strange convulsions and disorders that followed upon Cromwell's death. They wisely therefore held their cabals, to consult of methods how to secure themselves. (Dr. B.)

v. 351. *'Mong these there was a politician*] This was Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who complied with every change in those times. Mr. Wood's character of him (*Athen. Oxon.* 1st edit. vol. 2. col. 540, 541.) tallies exactly with this; as does the one in *The Fable of the Lion and the Fox*, (*Butler's Spurious Remains*) and in many respects Mr. Dryden's (*Absalom and Achitophel*, p. 3. *Fables*, folio edit. 1701.)

And more intrigues in ev'ry one
 Than all the whores of Babylon :
 So politick, as if one eye 355
 Upon the other were a spy,
 That to trapan the one to think
 The other blind, both strove to blink :
 And in his dark pragmatick way
 As busy as a child at play. 360
 H' had seen three governments run down,
 And had a hand in ev'ry one ;
 Was for 'em, and against 'em all,
 But barb'rous when they came to fall :

Ibid. See the character of *An Undeserving Favourite*, *Butler's Genuine Remains*, vol. 2. (Ed.)

v. 352. *With more heads than a beast in vision*] See *Revelations* xiii.

v. 355, 356. *So politick, as if one eye — Upon the other were a spy*] He is thus described by the author of a poem, intitled, *The Progress of Honesty; or the View of Court and City*, p. 22.

*Some call him Hopkni, some Achitophel,
 Others chief advocate for hell;
 Some cry, he sure a second Janus is,
 And all things past and future sees;
 Another rapt with satyre, swears his eyes
 Upon himself are spies;
 And sliely do their opticks inward roll,
 To watch the subtle motions of his soul;
 That they with sharp perspective sight,
 And help of intellectual light,
 May guide the helm of state aright:
 Nay, view what will hereafter be,
 By their all-seeing quality.*

v. 361. *H' had seen three governments run down*] The government of the King, the Parliament, and the Protector. (Ed.)

v. 363. *Was for them, and against 'em all*] Bishop Burnet was well acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, and confirms this part of

For by trappanning th' old to ruin, 365
 He made his int'rest with the new one,
 Play'd true and faithful, though against
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd.
 For by the witchcraft of rebellion
 Transform'd t' a feeble *state-camelion*, 370
 By giving aim from side to side,
 He never fail'd to save his tide,
 But got the start of ev'ry state,
 And at a change, ne'er came too late ;
 Cou'd turn his word, and oath, and faith, 375
 As many ways as in a lath ;
 By turning, wriggle, like a screw,
 Int' highest trust, and out, for new.
 For when h' had happily incurr'd
 Instead of hemp, to be preferr'd, 380
 And pass'd upon a government,
 He play'd his trick, and out he went :
 But being out, and out of hopes
 To mount his ladder (more) of ropes ;

his character : He tells us, (*History of his own Time*, vol. I. p. 97) the Earl was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made ; and valued himself for the doing it at the properest season, and in the best manner. See a song called *Chips of the old Block*, st. 20. *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. 2. No. 14. p. 57.

Ibid.—The interesting *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, by his Widow*, contain additional proofs, (if any were wanted) of the shameless duplicity of Shaftesbury. (Ed.)

v. 370.——*state-camelion*] Alluding to that famous tract of Buchanan's so called. (Mr. W.) This tract was wrote against the Laird of Lidingtoun. Vide edit. *Lugd. Batav.* 1723, vol. 1. *prope finem*.

v. 371. *By giving aim from side to side*] In all editions till 1710, and then altered thus, *By giving aim from either side*.

Wou'd strive to raise himself upon 385
 The public ruin, and his own.
 So little did he understand
 The desp'rate feats he took in hand,
 For when h' had got himself a name
 For fraud and tricks, he spoil'd his game ; 390
 Had forc'd his neck into a noose,
 To shew his play at *fast and loose* ;
 And when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook
 For art and subtlety, his luck.
 So right his judgment was cut fit, 395
 And made a tally to his wit,
 And both together most profound
 At deeds of darkness under ground :
 As th' earth is easiest undermin'd,
 By vermin impotent and blind. 400
 By all these arts and many more,
 H' had practis'd long and much before,

v. 392.—*fast and loose*] A cheating game, called also *pricking at the belt* or *girdle*. A leathern belt is made up into a number of intricate folds, and placed edgeways upon a table. One of the folds is made to resemble the middle of the girdle, so that whoever should thrust a skewer into it, would think he held it fast to the table ; whereas, when he has so done, the person with whom he plays may take hold of both ends, and draw it away. (ED.)

v. 399, 400. *As th' earth is easiest undermin'd,—By vermin impotent and blind*] Comparing him to the mole. *Talpa Cæcior* is an old proverb: the mole has an imperfect sight. See *Sir Thomas Browne's Vulgar Errors*, book 3. chap. 18. *Ray's Proverbial Sayings*, p. 279. *Mole's Spectacles*, *Spectator* or *Tatler*. One might have imagined that cockney to have been much blinder than the mole, who took a bush, hung round with moles, for a *black pudding tree*. *Foulis's History of the wicked Plots*, &c. p. 91.

Our state-artificer foresaw,
 Which way the world began to draw.
 For as old sinners have all points 405
 O' th' compass in their bones and joints :
 Can by their pangs and aches find
 All turns and changes of the wind,
 And better than by *Napier's bones*,
 Feel in their own the age of moons : 410
 So guilty sinners in a state,
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,
 And in their consciences feel pain
 Some days before a shower of rain.
 He therefore wisely cast about 415
 All ways he cou'd, t' insure his throat ;
 And hither came t' observe and smoke
 What courses other riskers took ;

v. 409. *And better than by Napier's bones*] * The famous Lord Napier of Scotland, the first inventor of logarithms, contrived also a set of square pieces, with numbers on them, made generally of ivory, which perform arithmetical and geometrical calculations, and are commonly called *Napier's bones*." See *Harris's Lexic. Technic. Chambers's Cyclopædia. Leybourn's Art of Numbering, by speaking Rods*, 1685. *Mr. Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, 1740, p. 120, &c. *Lilly's History of his own Life and Times*, p. 105.

Mr. Butler likewise might have in view the case of Archibald Lord Napier, a great royalist, (see *Bishop Guthry's Memoirs*, p. 204.) who died in his Majesty's service at Francastle in Athol—"The Committee (in Bishop Guthry's words) resolved to *raise his bones*, and make a forfeiture thereupon; and for that end, letters were ordained to be executed at the Pier of Leith, against Archibald Lord Napier his son, then in exile for his loyalty, to appear upon sixty days' warning, to see the same done. And when his friends were startled at this, and enquired what was meant by it, they found it was only to draw money from the new Lord Napier, for the use of some sycophants that expected it; and

And to the utmost do his best
 To save himself, and hang the rest. 420
 To match this *saint*, there was another,
 As busy, and perverse a brother,

so they advanced five hundred marks for that end, and thereupon the intended forefaulture was discharged."

v. 420. *To save himself, and hang the rest*] Of this principle was Ralpho, in *Dunstable Downs, Butler's Spurious Remains*, p. 101.

*As for betraying of my master,
 A broken head must have a plaister:
 A master, who is not a stark ass,
 Will hang his man to save his carcase:
 And if the man is such an elf
 To save his master, hang himself;
 The matter as 't appears to me,
 Renders the man, felo de se.*

Sir A. Ashley Cooper was of the Miller's mind, who was concerned in the Cornish rebellion, in the year 1558: he, apprehending that Sir William Kingston, Provost-Marshal, and a rigorous man upon that occasion, would order him to be hanged upon the next tree; before he went off, told his servant, that he expected some gentlemen would come a fishing to the mill: and if they enquired for the Miller, he ordered him to say, that *he* was the Miller. Sir William came according to expectation, and enquiring for the Miller, the poor harmless servant said he was the Miller. Upon which the Provost ordered his servants to seize him, and hang him upon the next tree; which terrified the poor fellow, and made him cry out, I am not the Miller, but the Miller's man: The Provost told him, that he would take him at his word. *If (says he) thou art the Miller, thou art a busy knave and rebel;—and if thou art the Miller's man, thou art a false lying knave, and can'st not do thy master more service than to hang for him:* And without more ceremony he was executed. (*Grafton's Chronicle. Speed's Chronicle*, edit. 1627, p. 823. *History of England from authentic Records, &c.* 1706. vol. 1. p. 410.) Or of Giffan's mind, who says to Guthry, (see *Dialogue between Mr. Guthry and Mr. Giffan*, 1661, p. 24.) "God's bread, Sir, you'll even say enough for us beath; would your reverence might hang for us beath."

v. 421. *To match this saint, there was another, &c.*] This character exactly suits John Lilburn, and no other, (though it is an anachronism.)
 VOL. III. D

A haberdasher of small wares,
 In politics, and state-affairs :
 More Jew than Rabbi Achitophel, 425
 And better gifted to rebel :
 For when h' had taught his tribe to spouse
 The *cause*, aloft, upon one House,
 He scorn'd to set his own in order,
 But try'd another, and went further ; 430
 So sullenly addicted still
 To's only principle, his will,

nism, as I shall shew below) especially the 437, 438, 439, and 440th lines. For it was said of him when living, by Judge Jenkins (*Wood's Athen. Oxon.* part 2. col. 102.) " That if the world was emptied of all but himself, *Lilburn* would quarrel with *John*, and *John* with *Lilburn*:" which part of his character gave occasion for the following lines at his death :

*Is John departed, and is Lilburn gone ?
 Farewell to both, to Lilburn, and to John.
 Yet being dead, take this advice from me,
 Let them not both in one grave buried be:
 Lay John here, and Lilburn thereabout,
 For if they both should meet, they would fall out.*

Lilburn died a quaker, August 28, 1657, (see *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 379. p. 1597. *Mr. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, from *Mr. Smith's Obituary*, vol. 2. lib. 14. p. 30.) a full year before Oliver Cromwell; whereas this thing happened not till a year after that usurper's death but this is not the only mistake in chronology that *Mr. Butler* is guilty of. (See in proof, note upon verse 1239, 1240.) See a character of *Lilburn*, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 3. p. 512. and an account of his obstinacy, his *Trial* reprinted I think, in the *State Trials*.

v. 425. *More Jew than Rabbi Achitophel*] *Achitophel* was one of *David's* counsellors, who joined the rebellious *Absalom*, but his advice not being followed, he set his house in order and hanged himself. (Ed.)

v. 435. ————— *nor cavalcade of Ho'burn*] Alluding to the cavalcade of the sheriff and his officers through *Holburn*, upon an execution at *Tyburn*.

That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,
No force of argument could move :
Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho'burn, 435
Could render half a grain less stubborn.
For he at any time would hang
For th' opportunity t' harangue :
And rather on a gibbet dangle,
Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle : 440
In which his parts were so accomplit,
That, right or wrong, he ne'er was non-plust ;
But still his tongue ran on, the less
Of weight it bore, with greater ease :
And with its everlasting clack, 445
Set all men's ears upon the rack.
No sooner cou'd a hint appear,
But up he started to picqueer,
And made the stoutest yield to mercy,
When he engag'd in controversy. 450
Not by the force of carnal reason,
But indefatigable teasing ;
With vollies of eternal babble,
And clamour, more unanswerable.
For though his topics, frail and weak, 455
Cou'd ne'er amount above a freak,
He still maintain'd 'em, like his faults,
Against the desp'ratest assaults ;
And back'd their feeble want of sense,
With greater heat and confidence ; 460

v. 448. *But up he started to picqueer*] “ *Pickeer*, or skirmish, as light-horsemen do, before the main battle begins.” *Bailey*.

As bones of Hectors, when they differ,
 The more they're cudgel'd, grow the stiffer.
 Yet when his profit moderated,
 The fury of his heat abated :
 For nothing but his interest 465
 Cou'd lay his devil of contest :
 It was his choice, or chance, or curse,
 T' espouse the *cause*, for bett'r or worse,
 And with his worldly goods and wit,
 And soul, and body, worship'd it : 470
 But when he found the sullen trapes,
 Possess'd with th' devil, worms, and claps ;
 The Trojan Mare in foal with Greeks
 Not half so full of jadish tricks,
 Though squeamish in her outward woman, 475
 As loose and rampant as *Dol Common* :

v. 469, 470. *And with his worldly goods and wit,—And soul, and body, worship'd it*] Alluding to the words in the office of matrimony, *With my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow.*

v. 473. *The Trojan Mare in foal with Greeks*] *After the Grecians had spent ten years in the siege of Troy without the least prospect of success, they bethought of a stratagem, and made a wooden horse capable of containing a considerable number of armed men ; this they filled with the choicest of their army, and then pretended to raise the siege ; upon which the credulous Trojans made a breach in the walls of the city to bring in this fatal plunder ; but when it was brought in, the enclosed heroes soon appeared, and surprizing the city, the rest entered in at the breach." Vide *Dict. Cretens. de Bello Trojano*, lib. 5. p. 199, 200. edit. Basil 1548. *Chaucer's Squire's Tale*, fol. 23. edit. 1602.

v. 476. *As loose and rampant as Dol Common*] *Dol Common* was colleague to Subtle the Alchymist, and Face the house-keeper, in Ben Jonson's play called *The Alchymist*, (*Works*, folio 1641, vol. 1. p. 526, &c.) and a great strumpet.

He still resolv'd, to mend the matter,
 T' adhere and cleave the obstinater :
 And still the skittisher and looser
 Her freaks appear'd, to sit the closer. 480
 For fools are stubborn in their way,
 As coins are harden'd by th' allay :
 And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief.
 These two, with others, being met, 485
 And close in consultation set ;
 After a discontented pause,
 And not without sufficient cause,
 The Orator we mention'd late,
 Less troubled with the pangs of state, 490

Rampant (as well as *Romps*) comes probably from *Arompo*, which is an animal that is a man-eater, in South Guinea. See *Churchill's Voyages and Travels*, vol. 5. p. 214. and *Plain-Dealer*, vol. 2. No. 76. p. 160.

v. 482. *As coins are harden'd by th' allay*] The more copper a silver coin contains, the harder it is ; and for that reason, plate-silver which contains one part of copper to twenty-four parts of silver, is harder than the coppel silver, which contains but a quarter of a part of copper, to twenty-four parts of silver. (See *Lemery's Chemistry*, 3d edit. p. 92.) The silver with so small an allay was, probably, what Alfenius the Civilian interpreted the money to be, which the Carthaginians agreed to pay the Romans ; *Certum pondus argenti puri puti*. (Vide *Aul. Gellii Noct. Attic.* lib. 6. cap. 5.)

v. 485, 486. *These two, with others, being met,—And close in consultation set*] This cabal was held at White-Hall, at the very time that General Monk was dining with the City of London. I heartily wish the Poet had introduced the worthy Sir Hudibras into this grand assembly : his presence would have continued an uniformity in this poem, and been very pleasing to the spectator. His natural propension to loquacity would certainly have exerted itself on so important an occasion ; and his rhetoric and jargon, would not have been less politick or entertaining than that of the two orators here characterized. (Mr. B.)

Than with his own impatience,
To give himself first audience,
After he had a while look'd wise,
At last broke silence, and the ice.
Quoth he,—'There's nothing makes me doubt 495
Our last out-goings brought about,
More than to see the characters
Of real jealousies and fears
Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,
Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead : 500
Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,
And threaten sudden change of weather,
Feel pangs and aches of state-turns,
And revolutions in their corns :
And, since our workings-out are cross'd, 505
Throw up the *cause* before 'tis lost.
Was it to run away, we meant,
When, taking of the *covenant*,
The lamest cripples of the brothers
Took oaths, to run before all others ; 510
But in their own sense, only swore
To strive to run away before ;
And now would prove, the words and oath
Engage us to renounce them both ?
'Tis true, the *cause* is in the lurch, 515
Between a right and mongrel-church :
The Presbyter and Independent,
That stickle which shall make an end on't,
As 'twas made out to us the last
Expedient,—(I mean *Marg'ret's fast*) 520

When Providence had been suborn'd,
 What answer was to be return'd.
 Else why should tumults fright us now,
 We have so many times gone through?

v. 520. *I mean Marg'ret's fast*] In those times, the word *saint* was not permitted to be given to any, but the friends to the rebellion: and the churches which were called *Saint Margaret's*, *Saint Clement's*, *Saint Martin's*, *Saint Andrew's*, they called *Margaret's*, *Clement's*, *Martin's*, *Andrew's*. (Dr. B.)

Some of their forefathers amongst the disciplinarians, such as Penry, the author of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, instead of saints, stiled some of the Apostles, and the Virgin Mary, in derision, *Sirs*; as, *Sir Peter*, *Sir Paul*, *Sir Mary*. (See *Bishop Couper's Preface to his Admonition to the People of England*.)

The fast referred to, might be either that appointed upon Oliver Cromwell's death, to be held September 10, 1658, (*Mercurius Politicus*, num. 433. p. 823.) or that appointed by Richard Cromwell, and his council, September 24, to be held the 13th of October following: (*Mercurius Politicus*, num. 435. p. 880.) or that appointed December 17th for the 29th (*Mercurius Politicus*, num. 546. p. 84.)

*Let their priests prate and pray,
 By order, and at Margaret's keep
 An humiliation day.*

Mercurius Pragmaticus, num. 4. April 25, 1648.

These fasts during the usurpation were not so frequent as before. It is observed by Mr. Foulis, (*History of the Wicked Plots of the pretended Saints*, p. 215.) "That at the beginning of the wars, a public monthly fast was appointed for the last Wednesday of every month; but no sooner had they got the King upon the scaffold, and the nation fully secured to the Rump's interest, but then they thought it needless to abuse, and gull the people with a multitude of prayers and sermons——and so by a particular act of their worships (April 23, 1649,) nulled the proclamation for the observation of the former: all which verifieth the old verses:

*The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be;
 The Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he."*

George Fox, the father of the Quakers, observes upon their *fasts* in general, (*Journal*, p. 194, 294.) "That both in the time of the long

And understand as well to tame, 525
 As when they serve our turns, t' inflame.
 Have prov'd how inconsiderable
 Are all engagements of the rabble,
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd,
 With drums, and rattles, like a child; 530
 But never prov'd so prosperous,
 As when they were led on by us :
 For all our scouring of religion
 Began with tumults and sedition :
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion, 535
 Became strong motives to devotion :
 (As carnal seamen, in a storm,
 Turn pious converts, and reform)

Parliament, and of the Protectors so called, and of the Committee of Safety, when they proclaimed fasts, they were commonly like Jezabels, and there was some mischief to be done." Their fasting was mere outside show, and mockery : and in some respects, they were like the holy maid mentioned by John Taylor the Water-Poet, (see his *Jack-a-Lent, Works*, p. 114. And an account likewise of the *Old Wife of Venice ; Foulis's History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of the pretended Saints*, p. 215. from the *Beehive of the Romish Church*, fol. 23,) " That enjoined herself to abstain four days from any meat whatsoever ; and being locked up close in a room, she had nothing but her two books to feed upon : but the two books were two painted boxes, made in the form of great bibles, with clasps and bosses, the insides not having one word of God in them——But the one was filled with sweet-meats, and the other with wine ; upon which this devout votary did *fast* with zealous meditation, eating up the contents of one book, and drinking as contentedly the other." Vide *Miraculum Fratris Jejunantis—Fascicul. Rer. expendar. et fugiendar.* p. 521.

v. 521. *When Providence had been suborn'd*] Alluding to the impudence of those pretended saints, who frequently directed God Almighty what answers he should return to their prayers. Mr. Simeon Ash was called, *The God Challenger. Letter sent to London from a Spy at Oxford*, 1843. p. 4.

When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,
 Maintain'd our feeble privileges, 540
 And brown-bills, levy'd in the City,
 Made bills to pass the Grand Committee :
 When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,
 Gave chase to rochets, and white-sleeves,

v. 537, 538. *As carnal seamen, in a storm,—Turn pious converts, and reform*] The cowardice of sailors in a storm, is humourously exposed by Rabelais, in the character of Panurge, (*Works*, book 4. chap. 18. p. 78, &c.) “Murther! This wave will sweep us away. Alas! the mizzen-sail's split; the gallery is washed away, the masts are sprung; the main top-mast head dives into the sea; the keel is up to the sun: our shrouds are almost all broke and blown away. Alas! who shall have this wreck? Friend, lend me here behind you one of these whales: Your lanthorn is fallen, my lads. Alas! do not let go the main-tack, nor the bowlin. I hear the block crack; is it broke? For the Lord's sake, let us save the hull, and let all the rigging be damned——Look to the needle of your compass, I beseech you, good Sir Astrophil, and tell us, if you can, whence comes this storm? my heart's sunk down below my midriff——By my troth I am in a sad fright——I am lost for ever——I conskrite myself for mere madness and fear——I am drowned, I am gone, good people, I am drowned.” See *Shakespear's Tempest*, act 1. *Tatler*, No. 111. of the Atheist in a Storm. *Alms-Ace*, *Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fables*, part 2. fab. 115.

v. 539. *When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges*] To fight with *rusty*, or *poisoned weapons*, was against the law of arms: so when the citizens used the former, they *chalked the edges*. (Mr. W.) See *Hamlet*, *Shakespear's Plays*, vol. 7. p. 342.

v. 541. —*brown-bills, levy'd in the City*] Brown-bills were the ancient weapons of the English foot-soldiers, so called perhaps from their being sanguined to prevent the rust. *Brown* is a common epithet applied to swords and other offensive weapons, in our old ballads and metrical romances. (ED.)

v. 544. *Gave chase to rochets, and white-sleeves*] Alluding to the insults of the mob upon the bishops in those times. Lord Clarendon informs us, (*History of the Rebellion*, vol. 1. p. 266.) “That the mob laid hands upon the Archbishop of York, going to the House of Peers, in that manner, that, if he had not been seasonably rescued, it was be-

And made the church, and state, and laws, 545
 Submit t' old iron, and the *cause*.
 And as we thriv'd by tumults then,
 So might we better now again,
 If we knew how, as then we did,
 To use them rightly in our need, 550
 Tumults, by which the mutinous
 Betray themselves instead of us ;
 The hollow-hearted, disaffected,
 And close malignant are detected :
 Who lay their lives and fortunes down, 555
 For pledges to secure our own ;
 And freely sacrifice their ears
 T' appease our jealousies and fears.
 And yet for all these providences
 W' are offer'd, if we had our senses ; 560
 We idly sit like stupid blockheads,
 Our hands committed to our pockets ;
 And nothing but our tongues at large,
 To get the wretches a discharge.
 Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts, 565
 Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts :

lieved they would have murdered him ; so that all the bishops, and many members of both Houses withdrew themselves from attending, from a real apprehension of endangering their lives." See *French Report. Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731, vol. 1. No. 11. p. 25. See the word *rochets* explained, *Wheatley's Rational Illustration*.

v. 565, 566. *Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts,—Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts*] Viz. soldiers condemned to be shot.

Quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos prius dementat.

This has happened to some men from less affecting circumstances, the famous Italian poet Tasso being imprisoned by order of the Duke of Fer-

Or fools besotted with their crimes,
That know not how to shift betimes.
And neither have the hearts to stay,
Nor wit enough to run away : 570
Who, if we cou'd resolve on either,
Might stand or fall at least together ;
No mean nor trivial solaces
To partners in extreme distress ;
Who use to lessen their despairs, 575
By parting them int' equal shares ;
As if the more there were to bear,
They felt the weight the easier :
And ev'ry one the gentler hung,
The more he took his turn among. 580
But 'tis not come to that, as yet,
If we had courage left, or wit :
Who, when our fate can be no worse,
Are fitted for the bravest course ;
Have time to rally, and prepare 585
Our last and best defence, despair :
Despair, by which the gallant'st feats,
Have been atchiev'd in greatest straits,
And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,
By being couragiously out-brav'd ; 590
As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,
And poisons by themselves expell'd :

rare, for a challenge given in his palace, upon which a duel ensued ; was in his confinement, dejected with so deep a melancholy, that it terminated in a stupidity, *Mr. Fenton's Observations on Waller's Poems*, 4to, p. 18. See another instance, of an innocent curate by mistake taken up by the Inquisition in Italy, *Baker's History of the Inquisition*, p. 332.

And so they might be now again,
 If we were, what we shou'd be, men;
 And not so dully desperate, 595
 To side against ourselves with fate :
 As criminals condemn'd to suffer,
 Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.
 This comes of breaking covenants,
 And setting up *exauns* of *saints*, 600
 That fine, like aldermen, for grace,
 To be excus'd the efficace.
 For spiritual men are too transcendent,
 That mount their banks, for independent,
 To hang like Mahomet, in th' air, 605
 Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer,

v. 592. *And poisons by themselves expell'd*] See *Annotations on Religio Medici*, 1672, p. 113. Dr. Derham's *Physico Theology*, book 2. chap. 6. p. 56, 57. 7th edit.

v. 600. *And setting up exauns of saints*] This is false printed ; it should be written *exemts*, or *exempts*, which is a French word pronounced *exauns*. (Mr. D.) *Exempt des Gardes du Corps*: an *exempt*, a life-guard, free from duty. *Boyer's French Dictionary*.

v. 601. *That fine, like aldermen, for grace*] Formerly (whether it be so still in London I know not) when a man fined for alderman, he commonly had the title, and was called, Mr. Alderman, though he sat not on the bench. These fanatics, if they were generous to the holder-forth, and duly paid him a good fine, received grace, and became *saints* by that means, though their lives were very wicked. (Dr. B.)

v. 602. ——— *efficace*] A word of our Author's own coining, signifying, I suppose, actual service. (ED.)

v. 605. *To hang like Mahomet, in th' air*] " Travellers have told us of two magnets, that are placed one of them in the roof and the other on the floor of Mahomet's burying-place at Mecca ; and by that means (say they) pull the impostor's iron coffin with such an equal attraction, that it hangs in the air between both of them." (*Spectator*, No. 191.) They mistake the place of his burial ; for I think both Dr. Prideaux and

By pure geometry, and hate
 Dependence, upon church or state:
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,
 And since obedience is better 610
 ('The Scripture says) than sacrifice,
 Presume the less on't, will suffice;

Mr. Reland agree in this particular, that he was buried at Medina, where he died, and under the bed where he died; as appears from Abul Feda his contemporary. *Sepultus est sub lecto in quo mortuus est; Tumulum ei effodit Abu-Talha Al. Ansarius.* (*Ismael Abul-Feda de Vita Mohammedis*, edit. Oxon. 1723. per Jo. Gagnier, p. 141.) Not. Gagnier. *Idem vir Cl. Pocockius. Ibid. nostrorum hominum de sepulchro Mohammedis ignorantiam, merito perstringit his verbis. Unde igitur nobis Mohammedes ciuitâ ferred inclusus; et magnetum vi in aëre pendulus? Hæc cum Mohammedistis recitantur, risu exploduntur, ut nostrorum, in ipsorum rebus, inscitie argumentum.* See *Le Blanc's Travailes*, part 1. chap. 4. p. 13. and the report of the coffin's being swallowed up by the opening of the pavement of the temple, *Turkish Spy*, vol. 4. book 4. letter 2.

v. 606. *Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer*] "The legend says of Ignatius Loyola, that his zeal and devotion transported him so, that at his prayers he has been seen to be raised from the ground for some considerable time together." Vide *Maffei Vit. Ignatii*, lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 297, 298. edit. Colon. Agrippin. 1590. Mr. Henry Wharton's tract, entitled *The Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome demonstrated, in some Observations upon the Life of Ignatius Loyola*, London 1688, p. 69, &c.

v. 609. *Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter*] See note, P. II. C. II. v. 211.

v. 620. *As Whittington explain'd the bells*] Referring to the old ballad, in which are the following lines:

*So from the merchant man
 Whittington secretly
 Towards his country ran,
 To purchase liberty.
 But as he went along
 In a fair summer's morn,
 London bells sweetly rung,
 Whittington back return.*

And scorn to have the moderat'st stints
 Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,
 Or any opinion, true or false, 615
 Declar'd as such, in doctrinals,
 But left at large to make their best on,
 Without b'ing call'd t' account, or question.
 Interpret all the spleen reveals,
 As Whittington explain'd the bells ; 620
 And bid themselves turn back again
 Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem.
 But look so big, and over-grown,
 They scorn their edifiers t' own,
 Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons, 625
 Their tones, and sanctify'd expressions ;

*Evermore sounding so,
 Turn again Whittington ;
 For thou in time shall grow
 Lord Mayor of London :
 And to the City's praise,
 Sir Richard Whittington
 Came to be in his days
 Thrice Mayor of London. (Four times, Weever's Fun. Mon.*

See a full account of him, and his great benefactions, *Stow's Survey of London*, 4to, 1599. *Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 434. *Baker's Chronicle*, edit. 1670. p. 169. *Echard's History of England*, vol. 1. p. 434. *Rapin's History*, folio edit. vol. 1. p. 504. *Famous and remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, written by T. H. Vulgaria*, vol. 3. No. 12. *Bibliothec. Pepsian*.

The *Tatler* observes, (No. 78.) "That Alderman Whittington began the world with a cat, and died worth three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which he left to his only daughter three years after his mayoralty." And the author of *A Tale of a Tub* merrily observes, upon the story of Whittington and his cat, "That it is the work of that mysterious Rabbi, Jehuda Hannasi, containing a defence of the Gemara of the Jerusalem

Bestow'd their gifts upon a saint,
 Like charity, on those that want ;
 And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots,
 T' inspire themselves with short-hand notes ; 630

Misna, and its just preference to that of Babylon, contrary to the vulgar opinion." (*Introduction*, p. 49.)

v. 629. *And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots*] Their bigotry against the Apocrypha was so remarkable, that even the most learned amongst them, when opportunity offered, had a fling at it; and amongst the rest, the learned Dr. Lightfoot (then Member of the Assembly of Divines): "Thus sweetly and nearly (says he) stand the two testaments joined together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha does thrust in between; like the two cherubims betwixt the temple oracle, they would touch each other, the end of the Law with the beginning of the Gospel, did not this patchery of human inventions divorce them asunder." (*Lightfoot's Fast Sermon before the Commons*, March 9, 1643, called *Elias Redivivus*, p. 5. *Cent. of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, p. 87.) This prejudice of their's is humorously bantered by Sir Roger L'Estrange. (See *Fable*, intitled, *A wonderful Antipathy*, 2d part, fab. 241.) He tells us of a lady, that had undoubtedly been choked with a piece of an apple-tart, if her next neighbour at the table had not dextrously got it out of her throat. She was a tender-conscienced creature, and the tart, it seems, was *bottomed* with a piece of the *Apocrypha*; and her antipathy to that kind of trade would have been as much as her life was worth, if she had not been seasonably relieved.

v. 630. *T' inspire themselves with short-hand notes*]

*And his way to get all this
 Is mere dissimulation;
 No factious lecture does he miss,
 And 'scapes no schism that's in fashion;
 But with short hair and shining shoes,
 He with two pens and note-book goes,
 And winks, and writes at random:
 Then with short meal and tedious grace,
 In a loud tone, and public place,
 Sings Wisdom's Hymns, that trot and pace,
 As if Goliath eann'd 'em.*

The Reformation. *Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731, vol. 1. No. 65. st. 7.

For which they scorn and hate them, worse
 Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders.
 For who first bred them up to pray,
 And teach, the House-of-Commons-way?
 Where had they all their gifted phrases, 635
 But from our CALAMYS and CASES?
 Without whose sprinkleing and sowing,
 Who e'er had heard of NYE, or OWEN?
 Their dispensations had been stifled,
 But for our ADONIRAM BYFIELD : 640

This practice is likewise bantered by the author of *A Satyre against Hypocrites*.

*There Will writes short-hand with a pen of brass;
 O, how he's wonder'd at by many an ass!
 That see him shake so fast his warty fist,
 As if he'd write the sermon 'fore the priest
 Has spoke it.———p. 5.
 Stand up good middle-isle folks, and give room,
 See where the mothers, and the daughters come!
 Behind the servants, looking all like martyrs,
 With bibles, in plush jerkins and blue-garters;
 The silver ink-horn, and the writing-book,
 In which I wish no friend of mine to look;
 For with far lesser danger you may read
 Trithemius' charms, or view the Gorgon's head.*

Id. ib. p. 8.

*But they that did not mind this doleful passion,
 Follow'd their business on another fashion:
 For all did write, the elders and the novice;
 Methought the church look'd like the Six-Clerk's Office.*

Ibid. p. 17.

v. 636. *But from our CALAMYS and CASES*] Calamy and Case were chief men among the Presbyterians, as Owen and Nye were amongst the Independents. (Dr. B.)

Sir John Birkenhead (see *Paul's Church-yard*, cent 3. class 10. sect 21.) makes it a query, "Whether Calamy and Case were not able to fire the Dutch Armada, with the breath of their nostrils, and the assistance of Oliver's burning-glass (his nose,) from the top of Paul's

And had they not begun the war,
 Th' had ne'er been sainted as they are :
 For *saints* in peace degenerate,
 And dwindle down to reprobate ;
 Their zeal corrupts, like standing water, 645
 In th' intervals of war and slaughter ;

steeple, and save the watermen the danger of a sea fight." (See a further account, *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 172.)

It is observed of Mr. Edmund Calamy, (in a tract, entitled, *The Arraignment of Persecution*, p. 16.) "That he was a man newly metamorphosed, by a figure which rhetoricians call *metonymia beneficii*, from Episcopacy to Presbytery." And in another, entitled, *A Looking Glass for Schismatics*, 1725. p. 88. "That when the bishops did bear rule, he was highly conformable in wearing the surplice and tippet, reading the service at the high altar, bowing at the name of Jesus, and so zealous an observer of times and seasons, that being sick and weak on Christmas-day, with much difficulty he got into the pulpit, declaring himself there to this purpose ; *That he thought himself in conscience bound to preach that day, lest the stones of the streets should cry against him.*" And yet upon a turn of the times, in a *Fast Sermon upon Christmas Day*, 1644. p. 41. he used the following words. "This year, God, by his providence, has buried this feast in a fast, and I hope it will never rise again."

v. 640. *But for our* ADONIRAM BYFIELD.] He was a broken apothecary, a zealous covenant, one of the scribes to the Assembly of Divines ; and no doubt for his great zeal and pains-taking in his office, he had the profit of printing the *Directory*, the copy whereof was sold for 400l. though, when printed, the price was but three-pence. It is queried by Sir John Birkenhead (*Paul's Church Yard*, cent. 1. class. 4. sect. 91.) "Whether the stationer, who gave 400l. for the *Directory*, was cursed with bell and candle, as well as book ? Overton (*Arraignment of Persecution*, p. 39.) says, he gave 450l. for it."

This Byfield was father to the late celebrated Dr. Byfield, the *Sal Volatile Doctor*. Mr. Cleveland, in his *Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter*, has the following lines upon him.

*If you meet any that do thus attire 'em,
 Stop them, they are the tribe of ADONIRAM.*

Abates the sharpness of its edge,
 Without the pow'r of sacrilege.
 And though they've tricks to cast their sins,
 As easy as serpents do their skins, 650
 That in a while grow out again,
 In peace they turn mere carnal men,
 And from the most refin'd of *saints*,
 As naturally grow miscreants,

v. 648. *Without the power of sacrilege*] It is an observation made by many writers upon the Assembly of Divines, that in their annotations upon the Bible, they cautiously avoid speaking upon the subject of sacrilege.

v. 650. *As easy as serpents do their skins*] To this Virgil alludes, *Æneid*. 2. 471, &c.

Qualis ubi in lucem coluber, mala graminu pastus, &c.

*So shines, renew'd in youth, the crested snake,
 Who slept the winter in a thorny brake;
 And casting off his slough when Spring returns,
 Now looks aloft, and with new glory burns.*

Mr. Dryden.

And in another place, *Georgic*. lib. 3. 438, 439.

*Cum positis novus exuvii, nitidusque juvena
 Evolvitur*—

Lucretius speaks to the same purpose, *De Rerum Natura*, lib. 3. 613, 614.

*Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere, ut anguis
 Gauderet prælonga senex.*—

*As snakes, when e'er the circling year returns,
 Rejoice to cast their skins, or deer their horns.*

Mr. Creech.

And so does Spenser. *Faërie Queene*, B. IV. C. III. st. 23.

*Like as a snake, whom wearie winter's teene
 Hath worne to nought, now feeling sommer's might,
 Casts off his ragged skin, and freshly doth him dight.*

See Lord Bacon's *Natural History*, cent. 8. p. 154. *Shakespeare's Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Works, vol. 1. p. 99. *Dr. Derham's Physico-Theology*, book 9. chap. 1. p. 398. 7th edit.

As barnacles turn Soland geese 655
 In th' Islands of the Orcades.
 Their dispensation's but a ticket,
 For their conforming to the wicked ;

v. 655. *As barnacles turn Soland geese*] It is said, that in the Orcades of Scotland, there are trees which bear these barnacles, which, dropping into the water, become Soland geese.

To this opinion Du Bartas alludes, (*Divine Weekes*, p. 228.)

*So slow Bootes underneath him sees,
 In th' Icy Isles, those goslings hatch'd of trees;
 Whose fruitful leaves falling into the water,
 Are turn'd, they say, to living fowls soon after:—
 So rotten sides of broken ships do change
 To barnacles; O transformation strange!
 'Twas first a green tree, then a gallant hull;
 Lastly a mushroom, then a flying gull.*

Dr. Turner, an Englishman, gave in to this opinion, as Wierus observes, (*De Prestigiis Dæmonum*, lib. 3. cap. 24.) and of later years, Sir Robert Moray, who, in his *Relation concerning Barnacles*, (*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 11. num. 137. p. 925, 926.) gives the following account. “ These shells hang at the tree by a neck longer than the shell; of a kind of filmy substance, round and hollow, and creased, not unlike the wind-pipe of a chicken; spreading out broadest where it is fastened to the tree, from which it seems to draw and convey the matter, which serves for the growth and vegetation of the shell, and the little bird within it. This bird in every shell that I opened, as well the least as the biggest, I found so curiously and completely formed, that there appeared nothing as to the external parts for making up a perfect sea-fowl; every little part appearing so distinctly, that the whole looked like a large bird seen through a concave, or diminishing glass, the colour and feature being every where so clear and neat. The little bill like that of a goose, the eyes marked, the head, neck, breast and wings, tail and feet formed, the feathers every where perfectly shaped, and blackish coloured, and the feet like those of other water-fowl to the best of my remembrance: all being dead and dry, I did not look after the inward parts of them; but having nipt off, and broken a great many of them, I carried about twenty or twenty-four away with me: the biggest I found upon the tree was about the size of the figure here representing them; nor did I ever see any of the little birds alive, nor met with any

With whom their greatest difference
 Lies more in words, and show, than sense. 660
 For as the Pope, that keeps the gate
 Of Heaven, wears three crowns in state ;

body that did ; only some credible persons have assured me, they have seen some as big as their fist." (See a further account of the *Scotch barnacle*, and the *French Macreuse* of the duck kind, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 15. num. 172. p. 1036.)

Mr. Cleveland from this tradition has raised a pungent satire against the Scots.

*A voider for the nonce,
 I wrong the Devil, should I pick their bones ;
 That dish is his ; for when the Scots de cease,
 Hell, like their nation, feeds on barnacles.
 A Scot, when from the gallow-tree got loose,
 Drops into Styx, and turns a Soland goose.*

My friend, the Reverend Mr. William Smith, of Bedford, observes : that it is a fact well known in all fens, that the wild geese and ducks forsake them in laying time ; going away to the uninhabited (or very little frequented) Isles in Scotland, in order to propagate their several kinds with greater safety : their young ones as soon as hatched are naturally led by them into creeks and ponds, and this (he imagines) gave rise to the old vulgar error, that geese spring from *barnacles*. " I have formerly (says he) upon Ulls-Water (which is seven miles long, one mile broad, and about twenty fathom deep, and parts Westmoreland from Cumberland) seen many thousands of them together, with their new broods in the month of October, in a calm and serene day, resting (as it were) in their travels to the more southern parts of Great Britain : and give me leave to add, that one Mr. Drummond, in a Poem of his, called *Polemo-Middinia*, entitles the rocky Island of Bass, *Bassa Solgosi-fera* (p. 2. edit. 1691. Oxon. 4to.) Captain Tislezer, in his fine cuts of Scotland, exhibits an exceeding beautiful prospect of the said Island, with the wild fowls flying over, or swimming all around. I had almost forgot to tell you, that almost all the drakes stay behind in Deping Fen in Lincolnshire."

John Major (an ancient Scotch historian, *De Reb. Gest. Scotor.* lib. I. fol. 10. edit. 1521.) seems to confirm this in some respects. *He anates, aut hi anseres in vere, turmatim a meridie ad Rupem Bas quotannis veniunt, et rupem duobus vel tribus diebus circumvolitant : Quo*

So he that keeps the gate of Hell,
 Proud Cerberus, wears three heads as well;
 And, if the world has any troth, 665
 Some have been canoniz'd in both.

in tempore rupem inhabitantes nullum tumultum faciunt; tunc nidificare incipiunt, et tota estate manent, et piscibus vivunt.—

(See a further account, *Bishop Gibson's Camden*, vol. 2. col. 1184. *Bishop Hall's Meditations*, &c. 1615. p. 72. *Sir Thomas Browne's Vulgar Errours*, book 3. chap. 28.)

v. 661, 662. *For as the Pope, that keeps the gate—Of Heaven* ———] St. Peter is by popish writers called *Janitor Ecclesiæ*. (Vide *Sanderi*, lib. de *Clave David*. chap. 1. p. 10. edit. *Wiceburgi*. 1592. *Princip. Fidei Doctrinal. Demonstrat. a Tho. Stapletono* cont. 2. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 216. *Parisiis*, 1579.) Mr. Laurence Howel observes, (*History of the Pontificate*, p. 17.) “That an epistle ascribed to Pope Calixtus, probably gave occasion to that idle fable of Saint Peter's being the porter of Heaven. For the author of it, exciting people to several Christian duties, promises them the reward of eternal glory by Jesus Christ, and that Saint Peter *should open to them the gates of glory*: These (says he) are mere dreams of old women, to make Saint Peter, Porter of Heaven; as if the gates of it were not committed to all pastors of the church, with Saint Peter.” (See the *Tale of Sixtus Quintus*, *Sir Francis Bacon's Apothegms*, No. 110. *Resuscitatio*, p. 227.)

Funere autem sacrum faciunt pro defunctis (Græci, et Rutheni) quod ii suffragiis tolerabiliorem animabus locum impetrari sperant, ubi facilius extremum diem judicii expectare possunt: Etiam cum aliquis magnæ autoritatis vir moritur; tunc Metropolitanus, sive Episcopus epistolam ad Sanctum Petrum scribit, sigillo suo, & manus subscriptione munitam, quam super pectus defuncti ponit, dans testimonium de bonis, piisque operibus ejus, utique in cælum facilius post diem judicii admitteretur, & Christianæ Religionis Catholicæ agnoscatur, subscribunt. (Rer. Moscoviticar. Comment. a Sigismundo, &c. 1600. p. 174.)

v. 663, 664. *So he that keeps the gate of Hell,—Proud Cerberus, wears three heads as well]*

———*tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora.*

Virgil. Georg. lib. 4. 483.

To this fable Mr. Spenser alludes, (*Faerie Queene*, book 1. canto 5. St. 34. vol. 1. p. 83.)

*Before the threshold dreadful Cerberus
 His three deformed heads did lay along;*

But that which does them greatest harm,
 Their spiritual gizzards are too warm,
 Which puts the over-heated sots
 In fevers still, like other goats ; 670
 For though the Whore bends hereticks
 With flames of fire, like crooked sticks ;
 Our schismaticks so vastly differ,
 Th' hotter th' are, they grow the stiffer :
 Still setting off their spiritual goods, 675
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds.
 For zeal's a dreadful termagant,
 That teaches *saints* to tear, and rant,
 And Independents to profess
 The doctrine of dependences ; 680
 Turns meek, and secret, sneaking ones,
 To raw-heads fierce, and bloody-bones :

*Curled with thousand adders venomous,
 And lilted forth his bloody, flaming tong ;
 At them he 'gan to rear his bristles strong ;
 And felly gnare.-----*

v. 680. *The doctrine of dependences*] I have heard of an Independent teacher, who came to subscribe at the Sessions, and being asked by the gentlemen upon the Bench, of what sect he was ? He told them, that he was an *Independent*. Why an *Independent* ? says one of the Justices. I am called an *Independent* (says he) because *I depend upon my Bible*.

v. 682. *To raw-heads fierce, and bloody-bones*] The author of a *Dialogue between Timothy and Philathous*, (*Introduction*, p. 33.) speaking of that barbarous custom amongst the Heathens, of sacrificing their children : " It came to pass with some of them (says he) that they made nothing to bake and stew their children, without pepper and salt ; and to invite such of their gods as they best liked to the entertainment. This gave rise to the natural apprehensions all our little ones have of *raw-head and bloody bones*. And I must needs tell you, I should not have

And not content with endless quarrels
 Against the wicked, and their morals,
 The *Gibellines*, for want of *Guelfs*, 685
 Divert their rage upon themselves.
 For now the war is not between
 The brethren, and the men of sin ;
 But *saint* and *saint*, to spill the blood
 Of one another's brotherhood. 690
 Where neither side can lay pretence
 To liberty of conscience,
 Or zealous suff'ring for the *cause*,
 To gain one groat's-worth of applause :
 For though endur'd with resolution, 695
 'Twill ne'er amount to persecution.

liked it myself ; but should have took to my heels, at the first sound of the stew-pan ; and besides that, have had a mortal aversion to *minced meat* ever after." *

v. 685. *The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs*] Monteth of Salmonet (see his *History of the Troubles of Great Britain*, translated, 2d edit. 1739, in folio, p. 23.) compares the Covenanters and Anti-Covenanters, to the *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*. These were two opposite factions in Italy, that engaged against each other, in the thirteenth century, one in behalf of the Emperor, and the other in behalf of the Pope.

Factiones Guelforum pro Pontifice, et Gibellinorum pro Cesare in Italia oriuntur, 1245. (*Chronograph. Ecclesie Christiane a Henrico Pantaleone*, Basileæ 1568. p. 99. *Sleidani Comment.* lib. 14. p. 294. edit. *Francforti ad Mœnum* 1568. *Naucleri Chronograph.* vol. 2. p. 827. *Notit. Romani Germanic. Imperii.* lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 205, &c. *Jo. Dabravi Olomuzensis Episcopi, Histor. Boiemic.* lib. 15. p. 143. *Whetstone's English Mirrour*, 1586, lib. 1. chap. 9. p. 65. *Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe*, 6th edit. p. 310, 643, 644, &c.)

Dr. Heylin observes, (*Cosmography*, edit. 1670. p. 130.) "That some are of opinion, that the fiction of *elfs* and *goblins*, whereby we used to frighten young children, was derived from *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*." Vide *Skinneri Etymologic. Lingue Anglicane*, sub voce *goblins*.

Shall precious *saints*, and *secret ones*,
 Break one another's outward bones,
 And eat the flesh of bretheren,
 Instead of kings, and mighty men ? 700
 When fiends agree among themselves,
 Shall they be found the greater elves ?
 When Bell's at union with the Dragon,
 And Baal-Peor friends with Dagon ;
 When savage bears agree with bears, 705
 Shall *secret ones* lug *saints* by th' ears,
 And not atone their fatal wrath,
 When common danger threatens both ?
 Shall mastiffs by the collars pull'd,
 Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold ? 710
 And *saints* whose necks are pawn'd at stake,
 No notice of the danger take ?
 But though no pow'r of Heav'n or Hell
 Can pacify fanatick zeal ;
 Who wou'd not guess there might be hopes, 715
 The fear of gallowses and ropes,

v. 705. *When savage bears agree with bears*]

Quando

*Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
 Perpetuam : sævis inter se convenit ursis.*

Juvenal, Sat. 15. 163, 164.

*Tyger with tyger, bear with bear you'll find
 In leagues offensive, and defensive join'd.*

Mr. Dryden.

*Bears do agree with their own kind ;
 But he was of such a cruel mind,
 He kill'd his brother cobbler before he had din'd.*

*In Hymn to the gentle Craft, or Hewson's Lamentation. Collection of
 Loyal Songs, vol. 2. No. 54.*

Before their eyes, might reconcile
Their animosities a while ?
At least until th' had a clear stage,
And equal freedom to engage, 720
Without the danger of surprise
By both our common enemies ?

This none but we alone cou'd doubt,
Who understand their workings-out ;
And know 'em both in soul and conscience, 725
Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense
As spiritual out-laws, whom the pow'r
Of miracle can ne'er restore.

We, whom at first they set up under,
In revelation only of plunder, 730
Who since have had so many trials
Of their encroaching self-denials,
That rook'd upon us with design
To out-reform, and undermine ;
Took all our interests and commands 735
Perfidiously, out of our hands ;

v. 733. *That rook'd upon us with design*] These pretended saints at length, by their quarrels, fairly played the game into the hands of the Cavaliers ; and I cannot but compare them to those wisecracks who found an oyster, and to end the dispute, put it to a traveller passing by to determine which had the better right to it ? “ The arbitrator very gravely takes out his knife, and opens it, the plaintiff and defendant at the same time gaping at the man to see what would come on't. He loosens the fish, gulps it down, and as soon as ever the morsel was gone the way of all flesh, wipes his mouth, and pronounces judgment. *My masters*, (says he, with the voice of authority) *the court has ordered each of you a shell without costs ; and so pray go home again, and live peaceably among your neighbours.*” (*L'Estrange's Fables*, part 1. fab. 411.)

Involv'd us in the guilt of blood,
 Without the motive-gains allow'd,
 And made us serve as ministerial,
 Like younger sons of father Belial, 740
 And yet, for all th' inhuman wrong
 Th' had done us, and the *cause* so long,
 We never fail'd to carry on
 The work still, as we had begun :
 But true and faithfully obey'd, 745
 And neither preach'd them hurt, nor pray'd ;
 Nor troubled them to crop our ears,
 Nor hang us like the Cavaliers ;
 Nor put them to the charge of gaols,
 To find us pillories, and cart's-tails, 750
 Or hangman's wages, which the state
 Was forc'd (before them) to be at ;

v. 751. *Or hangman's wages*] Thirteen pence half-penny have usually been called *hangman's wages*.

*For half of thirteen pence half-penny wages,
 I would have clear'd all the town cages,
 And you should have been rid of all the sages.
 I and my gallows groan.*

The Hangman's last Will and Testament. *Loyal Songs*, vol. 2. p. 238. To this probably the author of a tract, entitled, *The Marquis of Argyle's last Will and Testament*, published 1661, p. 5, alludes: "Item, To all the old Presbyterian serpents, that have slipt their skins, and are winding themselves into favour in the *a-la-mode cassock*—I bequeath to each a *Scotch thirteen pence halfpenny*, for the use of '*Squire Dun*, (the hangman) who shall shew them slip for slip." Hugh Peters in a tract, entitled, *A Word to the Army, and two Words for the Kingdom*, 1647, p. 12. prop. 19. advises, "That poor thieves may not be hanged for *thirteen pence half-penny*, but that a galley may be provided to row in the river or channel, to which they may be committed, or employed in draining lands, or banished."

That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,
 Our ears for keeping true accompts,
 And burnt our vessels, like a new 755
 Seal'd peck, or bushel, for being true ;
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,
 Held forth the *cause*, against all others,
 Disdaining equally to yield
 One syllable, of what we held. 760
 And though we differ'd now and then
 'Bout outward things, and outward men ;
 Our inward men, and constant frame
 Of spirit, still were near the same.
 And till they first began to cant, 765
 And sprinkle down the *covenant*,
 We ne'er had call in any place,
 Nor dream'd of teaching down free grace ;

I cannot really say whence that sum was called hangman's wages, unless in allusion to the Halifax law, or the customary law of the forest of Hardwick, by which every felon taken within the liberty or precincts of the said forest, with goods stolen to the value of thirteen pence half-penny, should, after three market days in the town of Halifax, after his apprehension and condemnation, be taken to a gibbet there, and have his head cut off from his body. (See *Mr. Wright's History of Halifax*, 1738, p. 87.) To this John Taylor alludes, (in his poem, entitled, *A very merry wherry ferry Voyage, Works*, p. 12.)

*At Halifax, the law so sharp doth deal,
 That whoso more than thirteen pence doth steal,
 They have a jin, that wondrous quick and well,
 Sends thieves all head-long unto heaven or hell.*

v. 765. *And till they first began to cant*] From Mr. Andrew Cant, and his son Alexander, seditious preaching and praying in Scotland was called *canting*. *Mercurius Publicus*, num. 9. p. 1632, 1633, 1661. *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 126.

But join'd our gifts perpetually
 Against the common enemy. 770
 Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon :
 And yet for all this gospel union,
 And outward show of church-communion,
 They'd ne'er admit us to our shafes, 775
 Of ruling church or state-affairs ;
 Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence
 T' our own conditions of repentance ;
 But shar'd our dividend o' th' crown,
 We had so painfully preach'd down: 780
 And forc'd us, though against the grain,
 T' have calls to teach it up again :

v. 771, 772. *Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,—Each other's church was but a Rimmon.*] See a remarkable instance in proof from Mr. Long's book, entitled, *No Protestant, but Dissenter's Plot. Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 217, &c.; and John Abell's letter, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 2. p. 582.

v. 772. — *a Rimmon.*] Rimmon was a god of the Syrians.

*Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful seat
 Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
 Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.
 He also against the house of God was bold:
 A leper once he lost and gain'd a king;
 Ahas, his sottish conquerour, whom he drew
 God's altar to disparage, and displace,
 For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
 His odious offerings, and adore the Gods
 Whom he had vanquish'd.*

Paradise Lost, B. 1.

In the opinion of the Presbyterians and Independents, church-communion with each other was a like case with that of Naaman's bowing himself in the Temple of Rimmon. (Ed.)

For 'twas but justice to restore
 The wrongs we had receiv'd before ;
 And when 'twas held forth in our way, 785
 W' had been ungrateful not to pay :
 Who for the right w' had done the nation,
 Have earn'd our temporal salvation ;
 And put our vessels in a way,
 Once more to come again in play. 790
 For if the turning of us out,
 Has brought this providence about ;
 And that our only suffering
 Is able to bring in the KING :
 What would our actions not have done, 795
 Had we been suffer'd to go on ?

v. 781, 782. *And forc'd us, though against the grain,—T' have calls to teach it up again.*] Alluding either to the Presbyterian Plot, 1651, to restore the King, called *Love's Plot* ; for which Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Case, Mr. Drake, Presbyterian Ministers, with some of the laity, were seized and imprisoned ; (see *Eckard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 705, and *Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3. p. 337, 338.) and for which Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons were beheaded on Tower-hill, 22d of August, according to the sentence of the High Court of Justice. (*Whitelock's Mem.* 2d edit. p. 503.) All the rest were pardoned. (*Whitelock, ibid.* p. 511.) Or to the attempt of the Scots to restore him, after he had taken the covenant, and been crowned at Schone, Jan. 1, 1650-1.

Their behaviour towards him is notably girded in the following lines :

*Now for the King the zealous kirk
 'Gainst the Independent bleats,
 When us, alas ! their only work
 Is to renew old cheats :
 If they can sit, vote what they list,
 And crush the new states down,
 Then up go they, but neither Christ
 Nor King shall have his own.*

Sir John Birkenhead revived, p. 20.

And therefore may pretend t' a share,
 At least in carrying on th' affair :
 But whether that be so, or not,
 W' have done enough to have it thought ; 800
 And that's as good as if w' had done 't,
 And easier pass'd upon account :
 For if it be but half deny'd,
 'Tis half as good as justify'd.
 The world is nat'rally averse 805
 To all the truth it sees or hears,
 But swallows nonsense, and a lie,
 With greediness and gluttony ;
 And though it have the pique, and long,
 'Tis still for something in the wrong : 810
 As women long, when they're with child,
 For things extravagant and wild :

v. 809. *And though it have the pique, and long*] The *pica* is a depraved and longing appetite of women with child ; or girls in the green sickness. See *pica* and *citta*, *Blanchard's Physical Dictionary*.

v. 811, 812. *As women long, when they're with child,—For things extravagant and wild*] Dr. Daniel Turner, in his book, *De Morbis Cutaneis*, chap. 12. had given some very remarkable instances of this kind : and among the rest, one from *Langius*, (upon the credit of that author) of a woman longing to bite the naked shoulder of a baker passing by her : which rather than she should lose, the good natured husband hires the baker, at a certain price : accordingly, when the big-bellied woman had taken two morsels, the poor man, unable to hold out a third, would not suffer her to bite again : for want of which she bore (as the story goes) one dead child, with two living.

Wolfius (*Lection. Memorab.* part 2. p. 916.) gives the following more remarkable (but barbarous) account, in the year 1580. *Istuc etatis Bretteburgi mulier gravida, desiderio sui mariti capta, ac accensa edendi, eum noctu jugulavit. Et mortui sic brachium ac latus sinistrum cingulo tenus devoravit. Reliqua sale condita reposuit : volens et illa comedere. Interea vero tres peperit filios, et perpetuo clauditur carcere.*

For meats ridiculous, and fulsome,
 But seldom any thing that's wholesome;
 And, like the world, men's jobbernoles 815
 Turn round upon their ears, the poles;
 And what they 're confidently told,
 By no sense else, can be control'd.

And this, perhaps, may prove the means
 Once more to hedge-in Providence. 820
 For as relapses make diseases
 More desp'rate than their first accesses;
 If we but get again in pow'r,
 Our work is easier than before;
 And we more ready and expert 825
 I' th' mystery, to do our part.
 We, who did rather undertake

Imp. Rad. 2. Pap. Greg. 13. (See *Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse concerning the Powder of Sympathy*.) The merriest kind of longing, was that mentioned by Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, act 1. sc. 6. of the lady who longed to spit in the great lawyer's mouth after an eloquent pleading. These unreasonable longings are exposed, *Spectator*, No. 326. and the privileges allowed big-bellied women, that longed in Spain, are mentioned, *Lady's Travels into Spain*, part 2. letter 9. p. 153.

v. 815. *And, like the world, men's jobbernoles*] Vid. *Skinneri Lexic. Etymologic.* and *Rabelais's Works*, *passim*.

v. 819, 820. *And this, perhaps, may prove the means — Once more, to hedge-in Providence*] A remarkable instance of this we find in a *Book of Psalms, fitted*, as the title page says, *for the ready use of all good Christians*: printed by an order of the Committee of Commons for printing, April 2, 1644, signed *John White*. *Ps.* xciv. 7. p. 193.

*The Lord yet shall not see they say,
 Nor Jacob's God shall note.*

There is a marginal explanation of Jacob's God — *The God of the Puritans*. Miserable Cavaliers indeed! if they were neither to have a king left them on earth, nor a God in Heaven. (Mr. S. W.)

The first war to create, than make :
 And when of nothing 'twas begun,
 Rais'd funds, as strange, to carry 't on: 830
 Trapann'd the state, and fac'd it down,
 With plots and projects of our own :

v. 830. *Rais'd funds, as strange, to carry 't on.*] See an account of their remarkable funds, *Walker's History of Independency*, part 1. p. 7, &c. *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's third Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 41 to 47 inclusive. Mr. Walker observes, (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 253.) "That there was an excise upon all that was eat, drank, or worn." See a farther account of their unreasonable taxes, *History of Independency*, part 3. p. 7. And in a tract, intitled, *London's Account, or, a Calculation of the arbitrary and tyrannical Exactions, Taxations, Impositions, Excises, Contributions, Subsidies, twentieth Parts, and other Assessments within the Lines of Communication, during the four years of this unnatural War — Imprinted in the Year 1647*. Thus calculated, p. 11. "That the annual revenue, they say, is eleven hundred thousand pounds a-year; but I place (says he) but one million." The taxes, &c. raised by the rebels 4378100*l.*—which for the four years is 17512400*l.* See *Loyal Convert*, Oxford, 1644, p. 13.

v. 831, 832. *Trapann'd the state, and fac'd it down, — With plots and projects of our own*] Sir Roger L'Estrange calls it the old cheat of creating new plots. (*Apology*, p. 57.) It was their constant practice, when they had any remarkable point to carry, to pretend there was a plot on foot to subvert the constitution. (See *Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. 1. p. 208, 209, 210. *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's second Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 255.) Mr. Walker observes of them, (*History of Independency*, part 1. p. 77.) "That from the beginning, they made lies their refuge." And elsewhere (*Ibid.* p. 147.) "That they forged conspiracies, and false news, to carry on their base designs. Their greatest master-piece (says the writer of a tract, entitled, *The True Informer*, 1643, p. 9.) is to forge counterfeit news, and to divulge and disperse it as far as they can, to amuse the world, for the advancement of their designs, and strengthening their party." See an account of one of their sham plots, *Second Part of the History of Independency*, p. 67. Of a sham plot in Dorsetshire smelt out by Oliver and his blood-hounds, *id. ib.* p. 229. Variety

And if we did such feats at first,
 What can we now w' are better vers'd?
 Who have a freer latitude, 835
 Than sinners give themselves, allow'd:
 And therefore likeliest to bring in,
 On fairest terms, our discipline:
 To which it was reveal'd long since,
 We were ordain'd by Providence: 840
 When THREE SAINTS' EARS, our predecessors,
 The *cause's* primitive confessors,
 B'ing crucify'd, the nation stood
 In just so many years of blood,
 That, multiplied by *six*, exprest 845
 The perfect number of the *Beast*,

of instances in a tract, entitled, *Persecutio Undecima*, reprinted in folio, 1681. p. 33. *Mr. Symmons's Vindication of King Charles the First*, 8vo. p. 253. *Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 205. *Presbyterian Prejudice displayed, in Answer to Mr. Benjamin Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation*, 1722. p. 58.

v. 841. *When THREE SAINTS' EARS, &c.*] * Burton, Pryn, and Bastwick, three notorious ringleaders of the factions, just at the beginning of the late horrid rebellion."

v. 845, 846. *That, multiplied by six, exprest—The perfect number of the Beast*] "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the *Beast*; for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred three score and six." *Revelations*, chap. xiii. v. 18. "By this means they have found out who is the true owner of the *Beast* in the *Apocalypse*, which has long passed for a stray among the learned; what is the true product of 666, that has rung like Whittington's bells in the ears of expositors." *Character of an Hermetic Philosopher, Butler's Genuine Remains*, vol. 2. Perhaps Butler alluded not only to the *Apocalyptic*, but the *Independent Beast*. It was "just three years of blood," from the time the King set up his standard, to the decisive Battle of Naseby, which three years, answering to the three saints, being multiplied by *six*, the number of their crucified ears,

And prov'd that we must be the men,
 To bring this work about again;
 And those who laid the first foundation,
 Complete the thorough reformation : 850
 For who have gifts to carry on
 So great a work, but we alone?
 What churches have such able pastors,
 And precious, powerful, preaching masters?
 Possess'd with absolute dominions 855
 O'er brethren's purses and opinions?
 And trusted with the double keys
 Of heaven, and their ware-houses;
 Who when the *cause* is in distress,
 Can furnish out what sums they please, 860
 That brooding lie in bankers' hands,
 To be dispos'd at their commands :
 And daily increase and multiply,
 With doctrine, use, and usury :
 Can fetch in parties (as in war, 865
 All other heads of cattle are ;)

yields eighteen, the number of years which the *Independent Beast* prevailed, reckoning from the commencement of the war to the Restoration. (Ed.)

v. 853. *What churches have such able pastors*] What sort of preachers these were, may be judged from their sermons before the two Houses at Westminster, from the breaking out of the rebellion to the murder of the King. Extracts from them in a tract, entitled, *A Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, and *Sir Roger L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings*, in two parts. As to their learning and casuistry, the reader may find some curious specimens in the first edition of the *Assembly's Annotations upon the Bible*, published in folio, 1645. Their note on *Jacob's kids*, *Genesis* xvii. 9. *Two good kids*. "Two kids (say they) seem too much for one dish of meat for an old man : but

From th' enemy of all religions,
 As well as high and low conditions,
 And share them, from blue ribbands, down
 To all blue aprons in the town: 870

out of both, they might take the choicest parts, to make it dainty; and the juice of the rest might serve for sauce, or for the rest of the family, which was not small."

And they observe upon Herod's cruelty, *Matt. ii. 16.* that he "sent forth soldiers to kill the children without any legal trial."

v. 869, 870. *And share them, from blue ribbands down—To all blue aprons in the town.*] Alluding to the many preachers in blue aprons in those times: this secret we learn from the following passages in Cleveland: in the first of these he represents a fanatic within Christ-Church, Oxford, disliking every thing there, before it was reformed by plunder and sequestration.

————— *Shaking his head*
To see not ruins from the floor to th' lead;
To whose pure nose, our cedar gave offence,
Crying, it smelt of Papists' frankincense:
Counting our tapers works of darkness, and
Chusing to see priests in blue aprons stand,
Rather than in rich copes.—————

In the other passage, the scene is of himself, within a very different place.

Next to tell you, must not be forgot,
How I did trot,
With a great zealot to a lecture;
Where I a tub did view,
Hung with an apron blue,
'Twas the Preacher's I conjecture;
His use and doctrine too,
Was of no better hue,
Though he taught with a tone most mickle.

Loyal Songs, vol. 1. p. 132.

From hence we may illustrate our poet's meaning, couched in that part of the character of his hero's religion—'Twas Presbyterian true blue, part 1. c. 1. l. 191. (Mr. B.)

From ladies hurried in calleches,
 With cornets at their footmen's breeches,
 To bawds as fat as Mother Nab;
 All guts and belly, like a crab.
 Our party's great, and better ty'd 875
 With oaths, and trade, than any side:
 Has one consid'able improvement,
 To double fortify the *cov'nant*:
 I mean our covenants, to purchase
 Delinquents' titles, and the churches': 880
 That pass in sale, from hand to hand,
 Among ourselves, for current land:
 And rise or fall, like Indian actions,
 According to the rate of factions.

*This makes our blue lecturers pray, preach and prate,
 Without reason or sense against church, king or state,
 To shew the thin lining of his twice covered pate.*

The Power of Money. Loyal Songs, &c. vol. 1. p. 62.

See an account of the *Blue Apron Committee* at Reading, *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. 4. p. 44.

v. 871. ———in *calleches*] *Calleche*, (anglice, *calash*) a small carriage of pleasure. (ED.)

v. 872. ———*cornet*] Ornaments which servants wore on their breeches. (ED.)

v. 873, 874. *To bawds as fat as Mother Nab*] Alluding probably to some noted strumpet in those times. Gayton (*Notes upon Don Quixote*, book 3. chap. 2. p. 72.) thus describes Maritornes. "She was a sow of the largest breed, she was an elephant in head and ears—her belly of a capacity for a cellar, two stands of ale might find room therein, and a century of spickets."—See Ben Jonson's *Ursula*, *Bartholomew Fair*, *passim*; and Sir Fopling Flutter's description of the orange-wench, whom he salutes with the pretty phrase of *Double-tripe*. *Spectator*, No. 65. Dromio's account of Nell the kitchen-wench, *Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors*; and *Bulwer's Artificial Changeling*, sc. 24th, p. 480, &c.

Our best reserve for reformation, 885
 When new out-goings give occasion :
 That keeps the loins of brethren girt,
 The *covenant* (their creed) t' assert,
 And when th' have pack'd a parliament,
 Will once more try th' expedient : 890
 Who can already muster friends
 To serve for members, to our ends,
 That represent no part o' th' nation,
 But *Fisher's-Folly congregation* ;

v. 883. *And rise or fall, like Indian actions*] Alluding, probably, to the subscription set on foot at the general court at the East-India House, October 19, 1657. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 387. p. 56, &c.

v. 888. *The covenant (their creed) t' assert*] The author of *Lex Talionis*—printed in the year 1647, p. 3. Pub. Lib. Cambr. xix. 9. 3. takes the following freedom with the *covenant*. “ Give me leave to tell you, what your *covenant* was at first, and what it is now : It was first by virtue of enchantment a lousy thread-bare Scots chaplain, who growing weary of the slender stipend of a bare Scotch mark per annum, came over into England to seek it's farther advancement, where it became a tub preacher, and so rendering itself capable of holy orders, did take upon it to teach and preach upon it's own accord.

The first attempt by which this *covenant* sought to ingratiate itself into the people, was by consummating a marriage betwixt the committees : the match was privately contracted in the close committee, and afterwards solemnly published by legislative power ; which marriage being thus accomplished, without the approbation of his majesty, without the license of our church, and without consent of our laws, I doubt not but it may be made null by a bill of divorce.—And for the farther punishment of your *covenant*, let it be banished out of this kingdom for ever, and let it be confined to the utmost part of Scotland, there to pine and waste itself away upon it's own dunghill.”—

v. 894. *But Fisher's-Folly congregation*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (*Key to Hudibras*) observes, that a meeting-house was built by one Fisher a shoemaker, which at the Restoration was pulled down by some of the loyalists ; and then lying useless, it was called *Fisher's Folly*.

Are only tools to our intrigues, 895
 And sit like geese, to hatch our eggs,
 Who, by their precedents of wit,
 T' out-fast, out-loiter, and out-sit,
 Can order matters under-hand,
 To put all bus'ness to a stand : 900
 Lay public bills aside for private,
 And make 'em one another drive out ;
 Divert the great and necessary,
 With trifles to contest and vary ;
 And make the nation represent, 905
 And serve for us, in Parliament ;

But he is mistaken ; for Dr. Fuller, (*Worthies*, 1662. p. 197.) explaining some London proverbs, amongst the rest, has the two following lines :

*Kirby's castle, and Megge's glory ;
 Spinola's pleasure, and Fisher's Folly.*

And observes, (from *Stow's Survey*, p. 175.) " That the last was built by Jasper Fisher, free of the Goldsmiths' company, one of the six clerks in chancery, and a justice of the peace, who being a man of no great wealth, (as indebted to many) built here a beautiful house with gardens of pleasure, and bowling alleys about it, called Devonshire House at this day."

v. 898. *To out-fast*] Dr. South observes, (*Sermons*, vol. 4. p. 175.) " That their *fasts* usually lasted from seven in the morning till seven at night, that the pulpit was always the emptiest thing in the church ; and there was never such a fast kept by them, but their hearers had cause to begin a thanksgiving as soon as they had done."

Ibid. Out-fast, out-loiter, and out-sit] Many of the most questionable measures of the popular party were carried by these methods. The *Remonstrance* of the Commons was carried by a majority of nine, after a debate of fifteen hours, when many members had left the House from exhaustion. The Bill against Episcopacy was carried by *out-fasting* and *out-sitting* those who opposed it ; on which Lord Falkland observed, that they who hated Bishops hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them, loved them not so well as their own dinners.

(Ed.)

Cut out more work than can be done
 In Plato's year, but finish none ;
 Unless it be the *Bulls* of LENTHAL,
 That always pass'd for fundamental ; 910
 Can set up grandee against grandee,
 To squander time away, and bandy ;
 Make Lords and Commoners lay sieges,
 To one another's privileges ;
 And, rather than compound the quarrel 915
 Engage, to th' inevitable peril
 Of both their ruins ; th' only scope
 And consolation of our hope :
 Who, though we do not play the game,
 Assist as much by giving aim. 920
 Can introduce our ancient arts,
 For heads of factions t' act their parts ;
 Know what a leading voice is worth,
 A seconding, a third, or fourth ;

v. 906. *In Plato's year*] * *Plato's year*, or the grand revolution of the entire machine of the world, was accounted 4000 years."

v. 909. —*the Bulls of LENTHAL*] Mr. Lenthal was Speaker to that House of Commons which begun the rebellion, murdered the King, becoming then but the Rump, or rag-end of a House, and was turned out by Oliver Cromwell; restored after Richard was outed, and at last dissolved themselves at General Monk's command: and as his name was set to the ordinances of this House, these ordinances are here called the *Bulls* of Lenthal, in allusion to the Pope's Bulls, which are humorously described by the author of a *A Tale of a Tub*, (p. 99.)

v. 923. *Know what a leading voice is worth, &c.*] Ben Jonson merrily observes, (*Discoveries*, edit. 1640. p. 95.) "That suffrages in Parliament are numbered, not weighed: nor can it be otherwise in those public councils, where nothing is so unequal as the equality: for there, how odd soever mens' brains or wisdoms are, their power is always even and the same."

How much a casting voice comes to, 925
 That turns up trump, of Aye, or No ;
 And by adjusting all at th' end,
 Share ev'ry one his dividend.
 An art that so much study cost,
 And now's in danger to be lost, 930
 Unless our ancient virtuosos,
 That found it out, get into th' Houses.
 These are the courses that we took,
 To carry things by hook or crook ;
 And practis'd down from *forty-four*, 935
 Until they turn'd us out of door :
 Besides the herds of *boutè-feus*,
 We set on work, without the House ;

v. 932. —————get into th' Houses] Alluding to the *secluded Members*, who endeavoured to get into the House when Richard Cromwell was set aside, and the Rump restored, 1659. (See *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 842.) Sir Gilbert Gerard, on this occasion, brought an action against Colonel Alured, for denying him admission. (*Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. 2. p. 841.)

v. 934. —————by hook or crook] Judge Crook and Hutton were the two judges who dissented from their ten brethren in the case of ship-money, when it was argued in the Exchequer; (see *Echard*, vol. 2. p. 128.) which occasioned the wags to say, that the king *carried it by Hook*, but not *by Crook*. See Sancho's way of explaining this expression, *Don Quixote*, vol. 4. chap. 73. p. 718.

v. 935. *And practis'd down from forty-four,—Until they turn'd us out of door*] From the time of the *self-denying ordinance*, 1644, when the Presbyterians were turned out of all places of power and profit, to 1648, when they were turned out of the Parliament House by Colonel Pride. (Ed.)

v. 937. —————*boutè-feus*] Firebrands. In the fourteenth century great devastations were committed in Paris and the provinces of France, by bands of incendiaries under the name of *Boutefour*. (Ed.)

When ev'ry knight, and citizen,
 Kept legislative journey-men, 940
 To bring them in intelligence,
 From all points of the rabble's sense ;
 And fill the lobbies of both Houses
 With politic important buzzes :
 Set up committees of cabals, 945
 To pack designs without the walls ;
 Examine and draw up all news,
 And fit it to our present use ;
 Agree upon the plot o' th' farce,
 And ev'ry one his part rehearse ; 950
 Make Q's of answers, to way-lay
 What th' other parties like to say :
 What repartees, and smart reflections,
 Shall be return'd to all objections :
 And who shall break the master-jest, 955
 And what, and how, upon the rest :
 Help pamphlets out, with safe editions,
 Of proper slanders and seditions :
 And treason for a token send,
 By letter to a country friend ; 960
 Disperse lampoons, the only wit
 That men, like burglary, commit ;

v. 945. *Set up committees of cabals*] A sneer probably upon Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale, who were called the CABAL in King Charles the Second's time, from the initial letters of their names. (See *Echard*, vol. 3. p. 251.)

v. 961. *Disperse lampoons*] *Lampon* in French signifies a drunken song: and to *lampoon* one, is to treat him with ridicule in a libel or satire, which is compared here to burglary; as being published clandestinely, and without a name.

Wit falser than a padder's face,
 That all its owner does, betrays;
 Who therefore dares not trust it, when 965
 He's in his calling to be seen.
 Disperse the dung on barren earth,
 To bring new weeds of discord forth;
 Be sure to keep up congregations,
 In spite of laws and proclamations: 970
 For charlatans can do no good,
 Until they're mounted in a crowd;
 And when they're punish'd, all the hurt
 Is but to fare the better for't;

v. 963. —[*a padder's face*] A highwayman's face, which the owner is naturally anxious to conceal, when *labouring in his vocation*. (ED.)

v. 969, 970. *Be sure to keep up congregations,—In spite of laws and proclamations*] See an account of the King's proclamations against their keeping up conventicles in the years 1668, 1669. *Echard's History of England*, vol. 3. p. 224, 238. And their manner of eluding them, *George Fox's Journal*, p. 314.

v. 971. *For charlatans can do no good*] *Charlatan* is an empyric, or quack, who retails his medicines on a public stage. Tom Coryat observes, (*Crudities*, p. 274.) that *Ciaratanoes*, or *Ciarlatans*, in Latin are called *Circulatores*, and *Agyrtæ*; from the Greek word *ἀγείρεν*, which signifies to draw company together, for which Venice was very famous. (See more *Pancirolli de Reb. Memorab. Par. Post. Tit. 1. p. 50. Chambers's Cyclopædia*.)

v. 973, 974. *And when they're punish'd, all the hurt,—Is but to fare the better for't*])

———— silenced ministers,
 That get estates by being undone
 For tender conscience, and have none;
 Like those that with their credit drive
 A trade without a stock and thrive.

Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. 1. (ED.)

As long as confessors are sure 975
 Of double pay for all th' endure ;
 And what they earn in persecution,
 Are paid t' a groat in contribution.
 Whence some tub-holders-forth have made
 In powd'ring-tubs their richest trade : 980
 And, while they kept their shops in prison,
 Have found their prices strangely risen.
 Disdain to own the least regret
 For all the christian blood we 'ave let ;
 'Twill save our credit, and maintain 985
 Our title to do so again :
 That needs not cost one dram of sense,
 But pertinacious impudence.
 Our constancy t' our principles,
 In time will wear out all things else : 990
 Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces,
 With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses :
 While those who turn and wind their oaths,
 Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths ;
 Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long 995
 Before from world to world they swung ;

v. 980. *In powd'ring-tubs*] Powdering-tubs were boxes used in the cure of the venereal disease. See note, P. II. C. III. l. 759.

——— “ *To the Spital go,
 And from the powdering-tub of infamy,
 Fetch forth that lascivious kibe of Cressid's kind,
 Doll Tear-sheet.* ”—

Shakspeare's Henry V. act I. (ED.)

v. 991, 992. —*rubb'd in pieces,—With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses*] The knees and kisses of devout pilgrims have worn a deep channel in the marble round the *Casa Santa* of Loretto, which, according to Mission, was usually visited during the Festival at Easter, and at the Virgin's nativity, by upwards of two hundred thousand persons. (ED.)

As they had turn'd from side to side,
And as the changelings liv'd, they dy'd.

This said, th' impatient States-monger
Could now contain himself no longer ; 1000
Who had not spar'd to shew his piques,
Against th' haranguer's politicks,
With smart remarks of leering faces,
And annotations of grimaces,
After h' had minister'd a dose 1005
Of snuff-mundungus to his nose,

v. 995, 996. *Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long—Before from world to world they swung*] Dr. South's remark upon the Regicides, (*Sermon on the 29th of May*, vol. 5. p. 275.) "That so sure did they make of heaven, and so fully reckoned themselves in the high road thither, that they never so much as thought that their saintships should take Tyburn in the way.

v. 1004. ————— *grimashes*] First edit. 1674, altered 1684.

v. 1005. *After h' had minister'd a dose—Of snuff-mundungus to his nose*] From hence it is plain how long that foolish and pernicious custom of snuff-taking has prevailed in England: which is merrily exposed by Dr. Baynard: (*History of Cold Baths*, part 2. p. 198.) "And now (says he) another nasty snuffing invention is lately set on foot, which is *snuff-taking*; which hangs on their nostrils, &c. as if it were the excrements of maggots tumbled from the head through the nose.—I have read, I think it is in *Sir John Chardin's Travels*, that there is a kingdom in the East Indies, called Botan, where the subjects hold the prince in such esteem and reverence, that they dry and powder his excrements, and use it as a great rarity to strew on meats, and garnish dishes with, as we do ours with grated bread, nutmeg, &c.—And I vow, I never see a snuff-box in a man's hand, but I think of a Botanian, &c." Montaigne observes, (*Essays*, vol. 1. chap. 22. p. 135.) "That there is a nation (alluding probably to Botan) where the most eminent persons about the king stoop to take up his ordure in a linen cloth."

Misson (*New Voyages to Italy*, vol. 2. p. 12.) takes notice of an order of the Pope's, that no one should take snuff at church, with the reason why. The *Tatler*, (No. 35.) gives this philosophical reason for

And powder'd th' inside of his skull,
 Instead of th' outward jobbernole,
 He shook it, with a scornful look
 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke: 1010

In dressing a calf's head, although
 The tongue and brains together go,
 Both keep so great a distance here,
 'Tis strange, if ever they come near;
 For who did ever play his gambols, 1015
 With such insufferable rambles?
 To make the bringing in the KING,
 And keeping of him out, one thing?
 Which none could do, but those that swore
 T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore: 1020
 That to defend, was to invade,
 And to assassinate, to aid:

taking snuff: "That it is done only to supply with sensation the want of reflection." (See the practice exposed, *Spectator* 344.) The Spaniards think more favourably of the practice, and present snuff as a token of friendship. (*Lady's Travels into Spain*, part 3. p. 269.)

v. 1007. *And powder'd th' inside of his soul*] In the first edition of 1678; altered to *skull*, 1684, four years after Mr. Butler's death.

v. 1008. ———— *outward jobbernole*] The same with *great-head*, *jolter-head*, *logger-head*. See *Jobbernowl* and *Nowl*, *Skinner's Etymologicon*. *Juntii Etymolog. Anglican*. *Nowl*, a word often used by the translator of Rabelais.

v. 1021, 1022. *That to defend, was to invade,—And to assassinate, to aid*] This is a sneer upon Serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try Rolf, against whom Osborne and Doucet swore positively to his design of assassinating the King. The Serjeant being bribed to favour, and bring him off, observed upon their evidence to the Jury, "That it was a business of great importance that was before them, and that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason, (words were made trea-

Unless, because you drove him out,
 (And that was never made a doubt)
 No pow'r is able to restore 1025
 And bring him in, but on your score.
 A spiritual doctrine, that conduces
 Most properly to all your uses.
 'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said
 To cure the wounds the vermin made; 1030
 And weapons drest with salves, restore
 And heal the hurts they gave before :

son without acts 1649, *History of Independency*, part 3. p. 46.) but God forbid it should be so now. How did any body know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away the King, and that Rolf charged his pistol to preserve him?" (*Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3. p. 180.) See *Walker's History of Independency*, part 1. p. 76. This Rolf was a shoemaker, or one of the gentle craft. *History of Independency*, part 1. p. 120.

v. 1029, 1030. ———— a scorpion's oil is said—To cure the wounds the vermin made] This is mentioned as a thing certain by Sir Kenelm Digby, (*Discourse concerning the cure of Wounds by Sympathy*) and by Moutet. *Modentur enim formicæ, ut scorpiones suis morsibus, et cum male medelam pariter afferunt. (Insectorum Theatr. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 246.) Oleum Scorpionum, S. Bernardi oleum vocatur — Pectini inunctum valet contra morsus quoscunque venenatos. (Insector. Theatr. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 209.)* See *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 39. num. 443. p. 318. *Dr. Mead's Mechanical Operation of Poisons.* It was observed of Athenagoras, a Grecian, that he never felt pain from the bite of the scorpion, nor the sting of the spider. (*Sexti Philosophi Pyrrhon. Hypotip. lib. 1. p. 17.*)

v. 1031, 1032. And weapons dress'd with salves, restore—And heal the hurts they gave before] Here again he sneers the weapon-salve: for the manner of applying it, see *Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse of the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy*, p. 143. *Mrs. George Sandys's Notes upon Ovid's Metamorphoses*, book 12. p. 230. from the receipt in *Grollius's Dispensatory*, taken from Paracelsus. *Fludd's Defence of the Weapon Salve*, *passim*. *Shakespeare's Tempest*, re-published by Mr. Dryden, act 5. sc. 2.

But whether Presbyterians have
So much good nature as the salve,
Or virtue in them as the vermin, 1035
Those who have try'd them can determine.
Indeed, 'tis pity you should miss
Th' arrears of all your services,
And for th' eternal obligation
Y' have laid upon th' ungrateful nation, 1040
Be us'd s' unconscionably hard,
As not to find a just reward,
For letting rapine loose, and murder,
To rage just so far, but no further :
And setting all the land on fire, 1045
To burn t' a scantling, but no higher :
For vent'ring to assassinate,
And cut the throats of church and state :
And not be allow'd the fittest men
To take the charge of both again. 1050
Especially, that have the grace
Of self-denying, gifted face ;
Who when your projects have miscarry'd,
Can lay them, with undaunted fore-head,
On those you painfully trapann'd, 1055
And sprinkled in at second hand :

v. 1046. *To burn t' a scantling, but no higher*] Mention is made of a humorous countryman, who bought a barn in partnership with a neighbour of his, and not making use of his part, when his neighbour filled his with corn and hay, his neighbour expostulating with him upon laying out his money so fruitlessly: "Pray neighbour, says he, never trouble your head; you may do what you will with your part of the barn; but I'll set mine on fire."

As we have been, to share the guilt
 Of Christian blood, devoutly spilt ;
 For so our ignorance was flamm'd
 To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd : 1060
 Till finding your old foe, the hangman,
 Was like to lurch you at *Back-Gammon*,
 And win your necks upon the set,
 As well as ours, who did but bet ;
 (For he had drawn your ears before, 1065
 And nick'd them on the self-same score)
 We threw the box and dice away,
 Before y' had lost us, at foul play ;
 And brought you down to rook and lie,
 And fancy only, on *the bye* ; 1070
 Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,
 From perching upon lofty poles ;

v. 1055. *On those you painfully trapann'd*] Mr. Walker charges the Independent faction, (*Second Part of the History of Independency*, p. 42.) "That by an impudent fallacy, called *Translatio Criminis*, they laid their brats at other mens' doors.

v. 1056. *And sprinkled in at second hand*] Alluding to their manner of baptizing, or admitting members into their churches, in opposition to the practice of the Anabaptists.

At Watlington in Oxfordshire, there was a sect called *Anointers*, from their anointing people before they admitted them into their communion. (*Dr. Plot's Oxfordshire*, chap. 3. sect. 32.)

v. 1065. *For he had drawn your ears before,—And nick'd them on the self same score*] Alluding to the case of Mr. Pryn, who had his ears cropped twice for his seditious writings.

v. 1069, 1070. *And brought you down to rook and lie,—And fancy only, on the bye*] From players of the political game, the Presbyterians were reduced to mere lookers on: *on the bye*, alludes to *bye-bets*, made beside the game. (Ed.)

And rescued all your outward traitors
 From hanging up, like alligators :
 For which ingeniously y' have shew'd 1075
 Your Presbyterian gratitude :
 Would freely have paid us home in kind,
 And not have been one rope behind.
 Those were your motives to divide,
 And scruple, on the other side, 1080
 To turn your zealous frauds, and force,
 To fits of conscience, and remorse ;
 To be convinc'd they were in vain,
 And face about for new again :
 For truth no more unveil'd your eyes, 1085
 Than maggots are convinc'd to flies ;
 And therefore all your *lights* and *calls*
 Are but apocryphal, and false,
 To charge us with the consequences
 Of all your native insolences ; 1090
 That to your own imperious wills
 Laid Law and Gospel neck and heels :
 Corrupted the *Old Testament*,
 To serve the *New* for precedent :

v. 1074. *From hanging up, like alligators*] Alligators are of the crocodile kind, and are frequently hung up in the shops of druggists and apothecaries.

v. 1086. *Than maggots are convinc'd to flies*] Thus it stands in all editions to 1710, exclusive, and then altered, *Than maggots when they turn to flies*.

v. 1093. *Corrupted the Old Testament*] This was done by a fanatical printer in the *Seventh Commandment* : who printed it, *Thou shalt commit adultery*, and was fined for it in the Star-Chamber, or High-Commission-Court. (See *Archbishop Laud's Trial and Troubles* ; and *Spectator*.)

T' amend it's errors and defects, 1095
 With murther, and rebellion-texts:
 Of which there is not any one
 In all the book to sow upon;
 And therefore (from your tribe) the Jews
 Held Christian doctrine forth, and use; 1100
 As Mahomet (your chief) began
 To mix them in the *Alchoran*:

v. 1101, 1102. *As Mahomet (your chief) began—To mix them in the Alchoran*] Mahomet was so ignorant, that he could neither write nor read; yet in drawing up the *Koran*, commonly called *Alchoran*, though he was born and bred a Pagan, “He associated to himself a learned Jew born in Persia, a Rabbin in his sect, whom Elmacin called by the name of *Salman*; (Dr. Prideaux, *Abdallah Ebn Salem*) but the greatest assistance he received was from a Nestorian monk, called by the western historians *Sergius*, and by the Eastern *Bahira*, an apostate, who had been expelled his monastery for his disorderly life: such were the architects whom Mahomet employed for the erecting the new system which he projected: the Jew furnished him with various histories from the *Old Testament*, blended with the chimæras and dreams of the *Talmud*, out of which Mahomet, in order to heighten the marvellous, picked out some fabulous circumstances of his own inventing, which are still to be seen in the *Alchoran*; and the Nestorian monk at the same time brought him acquainted with the *New Testament*, and the discipline of the church. All this he changed and corrupted with fables, which he borrowed from the *Pseudo-Gospels* and *Apocryphal Books*: and it is manifest, that he was not unacquainted with the history of the infancy of Jesus, and the family of the Virgin Mary.” *Abbe Vertot's Discourse of the Alchoran; History of the Knights of Malta*, in folio, edit. 1728, p. 43, &c. See more, *Carionis Chronic. de Alchorano*, lib. 3. p. 277. edit. folio 1580. *Baumgarten's Travels. Churchill's Voyages*, &c. vol. 1. . 431. edit. 1732. *Wulker's History of Independency*, part 1. p. 27. Mahmut, *the Turkish Spy*, defends it, vol. 7. book 4. letter 6.

Come, Mahomet, thy turn is next,
 New Gospel's out of date;
 The *Alchoran* may prove good text
 In our new Turkish state.

Denounc'd and pray'd with fierce devotion,
 And bended elbows on the cushion ;
 Stole from the beggars all your tones, 1105
 And gifted mortifying groans ;
 Had lights where better eyes were blind,
 As pigs are said to see the wind :
 Fill'd Bedlam with predestination,
 And Knight's-bridge with illumination : 1110
 Made children, with your tones, to run for't,
 As bad as bloody-bones, or LUNSFORD :

*Thou dost unto thy priests allow
 The sin of full four wives,
 Ours scarce will be content with, now,
 Five livings, and nine lives :
 Thy saints and ours are all alike,
 Their virtues flow from vice :
 No bliss they do believe and seek,
 But an earthly Paradise.
 A Heaven on earth they hope to gain ;
 But we do know full well,
 Could they their glorious ends attain,
 This kingdom must be Hell.*

Mercurius Pragmaticus, No. 2. April 11, 1648.

v. 1108. *As pigs are said to see the wind*] Pigs, from their restlessness at a change of weather, are supposed by the vulgar to *see the wind*.

*" And now as hogs can see the wind,
 And storms at distance coming find."*

Hudibras at Court, Butler's Spurious Remains. (ED.)

v. 1109. *Fill'd Bedlam with predestination*] Alluding to Oliver's porter. See *Lesley's Snake in the Grass*, *L'Estrange's Reflection upon the Fable of the Bat, Bramble, and Cormorant*, part 1. fab. 144.

v. 1110. *And Knight's-bridge with illumination*] There was formerly a lazaret-house, or hospital, at Knightsbridge, whose wretched inmates, I suppose, were the Presbyterian *Illuminati* alluded to by our Author. (ED.)

While women, great with child, miscarry'd,
 For being to malignants married.
 Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs, 1115
 Whose husbands were not for the *cause* ;

v. 1112. ————— or LUNSFORD.] It was one of the artifices of the malcontents in the civil war to raise false alarms, and to fill the people full of frightful apprehensions. In particular, they raised a terrible outcry of the imaginary danger they conceived from the Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford. Lilburn glories upon his trial for being an incendiary on such occasions, and mentions the tumult he raised against the innocent Colonel as a meritorious action: "I was once arraigned (says he) before the House of Peers, for sticking close to the liberties and privileges of this nation, and those that stood for them, being one of those two or three men that first drew their swords in Westminster Hall against Colonel Lunsford, and some scores of his associates: at that time it was supposed they intended to cut the throats of the chiefest men then sitting in the House of Peers." And to render him the more odious, they reported that he was of so brutal an appetite, that he would eat children (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 286.); which scandalous insinuation is deservedly ridiculed in the following lines:

*From Fielding, and from Vavasour,
 Both ill-affected men;
 From Lunsford eke deliver us,
 That eateth up children.*

The Parliament Hymns, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 1. No. 17. p. 38.

Cleveland banters them upon the same head.

*The post, that came from Banbury,
 Riding in a blue rocket,
 He swore he saw, when Lunsford fell,
 A child's arm in his pocket.*

And to make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr. Cleveland (*Rupertismus*, *Works* 1677. p. 67.):

*They fear the giblets of his train, they fear
 Even his dog, that four-legg'd Cavalier;
 He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,
 Whose picture feeds upon a child in steaks.*

And turn'd the men to ten-horn'd cattle,
 Because they came not out to battle :
 Made tailors' 'prentices turn heroes,
 For fear of being transform'd to *Meroz* ; 1120

Mr. Gayton, in banter of this idle opinion, (see *Notes on Don Quixote*, book 3. chap. 6. p. 103.) calls Saturn the very *Lunsford* of the deities; they might as well have ascribed to him the appetite of the *Giant Wide-nostrils*, who swallowed windmills with their sails (*Rabelais*, vol. 1. book 4. chap. 17.); or the famous *Zyto*, (conjurer to Wenceslaus, son to the Emperor Charles IV.) who, upon a trial of skill at the Duke of Bavaria's court, swallowed the Duke's principal conjurer, with all he had about him, his dirty shoes excepted; and then, for the diversion of the company, ran with him to a large tub of water, and launched him out to the middle of it. Vide *Historiæ Boemicae*, lib. 23. p. 221. 222. a *Jo. Dubravio Episcopo Olomuzensi*, Basileæ, 1575. *Carpenterius's Living Library*, London 1621, p. 266. *Turkish Spy*, vol. 4. book 4. chap. 9. *Plain Dealer*, published 1734, vol. 1. No. 23. Colonel Lunsford, after all, was a person of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage, and was killed at the taking of Bristol by the King in 1643. (See *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 425.)

Ibid.—Dr. Grey has confounded Colonel *Henry Lunsford*, who was killed at the taking of Bristol, with the obnoxious Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, whose appointment, by the King, as governor of the Tower, excited so much alarm and indignation among the Citizens. Sir Thomas is admitted by Lord Clarendon to have been a man of dissolute and desperate character, who had been obliged, before the civil war, to fly the kingdom for some riotous misdemeanor. See *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, book iv. (ED.)

v. 1120.—[transform'd to *Meroz*] That text in *Judges* v. 28. *Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty.*

The rebellious preachers were wont to sound often in the ears of the people, to make them imagine they should fall under a grievous curse, if they, as many at least as were fit to make soldiers, did not list into the Parliament army, to fight, what these hypocritical rebels called, *The Lord's battles against the mighty*; that was the King and all his friends. (Dr. B.) Stephen Marshall preached a seditious sermon before the Commons, Feb. 13, 1641, from that text, entitled, *Meroz cursed*,

And rather forfeit their indentures,
 Than not espouse the *saints'* adventures.
 Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,
 And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus:
 Enchant the King's, and Church's lands, 1125
 T' obey, and follow your commands;
 And settle on a new freehold,
 As *Marcly-Hill* had done of old.

(*penes me*) to which probably Mr. Butler alludes: or to *Mr. Horton's Fast Sermon before the Peers*, December 30, p. 8. See *A Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, 1723, p. 41.

Then curse ye Meroz, in each pulpit did thunder,
 To perplex the poor people, and keep them in wonder,
 Till all the reigns of government were quite broken asunder.

A song, entitled *The Rump served in with a grand Sallet*, st. 16. *Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted 1731, vol. 2. p. 179.

The Scots (in their *Declaration*, August 10, concerning their *Expedition into England*, p. 8, 9) say, "The Lord save us from the curse of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord against the mighty." How careful they and their English brethren were to keep all others from that curse, appears from the declaration of both kingdoms, 1643, p. 6. "We give (say they) public warning to such persons to rest no longer upon their neutrality—but to take the covenant, and join with all their power—otherwise we do declare them to be public enemies to their religion and country, and that they are to be censured and punished as professed adversaries and malignants." (*Foulis's History of wicked Plots*, &c. edit. 2. p. 178, 224.)

v. 1127, 1128. *And settle on a new freehold,—As Marcly-Hill had done of old*] "Near the conflux of the Lug and Wye (Herefordshire) eastward, a hill, which they call *Marcly Hill*, did in the year 1575 rouse itself as it were out of sleep, and for three days together, shoving its prodigious body forward, with a horrible roaring noise, and overturning every thing in its way, raised itself, to the great astonishment of the beholders, to a higher place, by that kind of earthquake, I suppose, which naturalists call *Brasmatia*." *Camden's Britannia*, edition 1722, col. 691. *Stow's Chronicle, continued by Howes*, p. 667.

Could turn the *cov'nant*, and translate
 The Gospel into spoons and plate ; 1130
 Expound upon all merchants' cashes,
 And open th' intricate places :
 Could catechize a money-box,
 And prove all pouches orthodox ;
 Until the *cause* became a *Damon*, 1135
 And *Pythias*, the wicked *Mammon* :

A like account we meet with of Blackmore in Dorsetshire, in the year 1587, (*Stow*, *ibid.* p. 695.) and at Westram in Kent, 1599, (*Stow*, *ibid.* p. 782.) of the fall of one of the highest mountains amongst the Grisons by an earthquake in the year 1618, which overwhelmed a borough or little town, called Pleara, and swallowed up the inhabitants ; so that there was not any trace or sign left of the place. *Perrival's History of the Iron Age*, part 1. p. 88. And the sinking down of part of a hill near Clogher in Ireland, March 10, 1712-3. *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 28. p. 267. And of the uncommon sinking of the earth at Folkestone in Kent, 1716, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 29. num. 349. p. 469, &c. And the hill of Scarborough is fresh in memory. See accounts of the like kind, *Plinii Nat. Hist.* lib. 2. cap. 83. *Gryphiandri de Insulis: Casu Symplegadam Insular.* cap. 81. p. 513. *Altedii Thesaur. Chronologic.* anno 1241, cap. 32. p. 306, edit. 1628. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 372. p. 7935.

v. 1135, 1136. *Until the cause became a Damon,—And Pythias, the wicked Mammon*] *Damon* and *Pythias* were two of *Pythagoras's* followers : When *Dionysius*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, had condemned one of them to die, he begged a few days to set his house in order, and the other willingly offered himself in the meanwhile to stay as pledge, and to die instead of his friend, if he returned not at the time appointed : but he came according to appointment to suffer death himself, and thereby to acquit his friend, that had engaged for his return : when the tyrant saw this faithfulness in their friendship, he pardoned him that was condemned to die, and desired that he might be admitted as a third person in their friendship. (*Valer. Maxim.* lib. 20. cap. 7. *De Amicitia*, p. 412. edit. Varior. 1651.) See the friendship of *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, *Virgil. Æneid.* lib. 9.

His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant, &c.

And yet, in spite of all your charms,
 To conjure legion up in arms ;
 And raise more devils in the rout,
 Than e'er y' were able to cast out ; 1140
 Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,
 Bred up (you say) in your own schools ;
 Who though but gifted at your feet,
 Have made it plain, they have more wit.
 By whom you've been so oft trappann'd, 1145
 And held-forth out of all command.
 Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,
 And out-reveal'd at carryings-on.
 Of all your dispensations worm'd,
 Out-providenc'd, and out-reform'd ; 1150
 Ejected out of church and state,
 And all things, but the people's hate ;
 And spirited out of th' enjoyments

v. 1162. *Nor snuffed treason*] Alluding to those treasonable sermons before the two Houses, from 1641 to 1648, in number between two and three hundred.

The Author of *The Geneva Ballad* girds them for speaking through the nose, *Butler's Spurious Remains*, 1727, p. 46.

*To draw the hornets in, like bees,
 With pleasing twangs, he tones his prose,
 He gives his handkerchief a squeeze,
 And draws John Calvin through his nose.*

And in the poem entitled, *Oliver's Court, Spurious Remains* :

*If he be one of the eating tribe,
 Both a Pharisee and a Scribe ;
 And hath learn'd the mis'ling tone
 Of a flux'd devotion,
 Cursing from his swearing tub
 The Cavaliers to Belzebub.
 Let him repair, &c.*

Of precious, edifying employments,
 By those who lodg'd their gifts and graces, 1155
 Like better bowlers, in your places ;
 All which you bore with resolution,
 Charg'd on th' accompt of persecution ;
 And though most righteously opprest,
 Against your wills, still acquiesc'd ; 1160
 And never hum'd and hah'd sedition,
 Nor snuffled treason, nor misprision.
 That is, because you never durst ;
 For had you preach'd, and pray'd your worst,
 Alas ! you were no longer able 1165
 To raise your posse of the rabble :
 One single red-coat sentinel
 Out-charm'd the magick of the spell ;
 And, with his squirt-fire, could disperse
 Whole troops, with chapter rais'd, and verse : 1170
 We knew too well those tricks of yours,
 To leave it ever in your powers ;
 Or trust our safeties, or undoings,
 To your disposing of out-goings :
 Or to your ordering Providence, 1175
 One farthing's-worth of consequence.

Sir Roger L'Estrange distinguishes between the religion of the heart and that of the nose; *Declaration of the City to the Men at Westminster*, *L'Estrange's Apology*, p. 40.

v.1167, 1168. *One single red-coat sentinel—Out-charm'd the magick of the spell*] Sir Roger L'Estrange, (*Reflection on the Fable of a Sheep and a Crow*, part 1. fab. 77.) in his observation upon the mob, says, "That they are tongue-valiant, and as bold as Hercules, where they know there's no danger; but throw a volley of shot amongst them, and they have not the courage of so many hares."

For had you power to undermine,
 Or wit to carry a design,
 Or correspondence to trapan,
 Inveigle, or betray one man ; 1180
 There's nothing else that intervenes,
 And bars your zeal to use the means ;
 And therefore wond'rous like, no doubt,
 To bring in kings, or keep them out :
 Brave undertakers to restore, 1185
 That cou'd not keep yourselves in pow'r :
 T' advance the int'rests of the crown,
 That wanted wit to keep your own.

'Tis true, you have (for I'd be loth
 To wrong ye) done your parts in both, 1190
 To keep him out, and bring him in,
 As grace is introduc'd by sin ;
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense,
 And sanctify'd impertinence ;
 Your carrying bus'ness in a huddle, 1195
 That forc'd our rulers to new-model ;
 Oblig'd the state to tack about,
 And turn you, root and branch, all out ;
 To reformado, one and all,
 T' your great *Croysado General*. 1200

v. 1191. *To keep him out, and bring him in*] See the Presbyterians notably girded upon this head, *Sir Roger L'Estrange's Moral to fable* 240. 2d. part, entitled, *The Foot makes the Musick*.

v. 1199, 1200. *To reformado, one and all,—T' your great Croysado General*] It was demanded in the army's remonstrances and printed papers, " That all reformado officers, soldiers, and forces in and about London, or elsewhere, not actually in the army's power, may be imme-

Your greedy slav'ring to devour,
 Before 'twas in your clutches, pow'r,
 That sprung the game you were to set,
 Before y' had time to draw the net :

diately dispersed ; the old City and Parliament guards removed, and a new strong guard of horse and foot presently sent from the army to secure the City and Tower of London, and the Commons' House." (*The total and final Demands already made by, and to be expected from, the Agitators and Army*, p. 7. London 1647.)

By *Croysado General*, General Fairfax is intended, who laid down his commission, when in the year 1650 it was proposed to him to march against the Scots : (see *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 690.) upon which the Rump settled on him 5000*l.* per annum. (*Ludlow's Memoirs*, edit. 1698. vol. 1. p. 316.)

Mr. Cleveland, (in his *Character of a London Diurnal*) observes upon him as follows. " The greatest wonder is at Fairfax, how he comes to be a babe of grace ; certainly it is not in his personal, but (as the state-sophies distinguish) in his politic capacity ; regenerate *ab extra* by the zeal of the House he sate in, as chickens are hatched at Grand Cairo, by the adoption of an oven."

Will. Fool was counted the worst of the twain, (*Sir W. Waller.*)

Till Tom Fool, Lord F.—the cause to maintain,

His honour and conscience did fearfully stain,

Which no body can deny.

The Rump Carbonadoed. Collection of *Loyal Songs*, vol. 2. p. 121.

General Fairfax is called the *Croysado General*, because religion was the first pretence to rebellion, and in allusion to the expedition of the Christians in the year 1196 to recover the Holy Land from the infidel Saracens, at the instance of Pope Urban II. which was called the *Croy-sade*. See an account of it, *Life of Godfrey of Bullen*, by Fairfax. *Abbe Vertot's History of the Knights of Malta*, vol. 1. p. 9, 10, 11, &c. *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, by Mr. Hearne, p. 392. *Baker's History of the Inquisition*, 1734, p. 5, &c. and an account of the *Croysade of the Ladies at Genoa*, *Misson's New Voyages*, &c. vol. 1. p. 426. 427.

Ibid. The character of the speaker and the truth of history are equally at variance with Dr. Grey's assertion, that Fairfax was intended by the *Croysado General*. Butler evidently alludes to the Earl of Essex, the champion and idol of the Presbyterians, who was deprived of his

Your spite to see the church's lands
 Divided into other hands,
 And all your sacrilegious ventures
 Laid out in tickets, and debentures ;
 Your envy to be sprinkled down,
 By under churches in the town ; 1210
 And no course us'd to stop their mouths,
 Nor th' Independents' spreading growths :
 All which consider'd, 'tis most true
 None bring him in so much as you :
 Who have prevail'd beyond their plots, 1215
 Their midnight juntas, and seal'd knots ;
 That thrive more by your zealous piques,
 Than all their own rash politicks.
 And this way you may claim a share,
 In carrying (as you brag) th' affair, 1220
 Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews
 From Pharaoh, and his brick-kilns loose ;

command when that party was turned out by the *self-denying ordinance*. Fairfax, though of the Presbyterian persuasion, was advanced by the intrigues of the Independents, and enjoyed the *appearance* of command till he voluntarily laid down his commission. The speech of Shaftesbury is a defence of the Independents, in reply to the Presbyterian politics of Lilburn, and his ridicule of the Earl of Essex is perfectly in character.

(Ed.)

v. 1216. *Their midnight juntas, and seal'd knots*] This probably refers to their private cabals, or clubs : a knot of men, or club of men, is much the same ; and the word *knots*, rather than clubs, is used for the sake of the rhyme. He calls them *seal'd knots*, on account of the secrecy they were bound to keep. (Dr. B.)

v. 1221, 1222. *Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews—From Pharaoh, and his brick-kilns loose*] Alluding to one of the plagues in Egypt. (See *Exodus*, viii.)

And flies and mange, that set them free
 From task-masters, and slavery,
 Were likelier to do the feat, 1225
 In any indiff'rent man's conceit :
 For who e'er heard of restoration,
 Until your thorough reformation ?
 That is, the King's and Church's lands
 Were sequester'd int' other hands : 1230
 For only then, and not before,
 Your eyes were open'd to restore.
 And when the work was carrying on,
 Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone ?
 As by a world of hints appears, 1235
 All plain, and extant, as your ears.
 But first, o' the first : The Isle of Wight
 Will rise up, if you should deny 't ;

Et veterem in limo rana cecinere querelam.

Virgilii Georgic. lib. 1. 378.

Improbis ingluviem ranisque loquacibus explet.

Virgilii Georgic. lib. 3. 431.

v. 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240. ————— *The Isle of Wight—Will rise up, if you should deny't :—Where Henderson, and th' other Mas- ses,—Were sent to cap texts, and put cases*] When the King, in the year 1646, was in the Scotch Army, the English Parliament sent him some propositions ; one of which was the abolition of episcopacy, and the setting up presbytery in it's stead ; Mr. Henderson, one of the chief of the Scotch Presbyterian ministers, was employed to induce the King to agree to this proposition : it being what his Majesty chiefly stuck at. Accordingly he came provided with books and papers for his purpose ; the controversy was debated in writing, as well as by personal conference, and several papers passed between them, which have been several times published ; from which it appears, that the King, without books or papers, or any one to assist him, was an overmatch for this old champion

Where HENDERSON, and th' other Masses,
 Were sent to cap texts, and put cases : 1240
 To pass for deep and learned scholars,
 Although but paltry *Ob-and-Sollers* :

of the Kirk, (and I think it will be no hyperbole, if I add, for all the then English and Scotch Presbyterian teachers put together) and made him so far a convert, that he departed with great sorrow to Edinburgh, with a deep sense of the mischief of which he had been the author and abetter; and not only lamented to his friends and confidants, on his death bed, which followed soon after, but likewise published a solemn declaration to the Parliament, and Synod of England, in which he owned, "That they had been abused with most false aspersions against his Majesty, and that they ought to restore him to his full rights, royal throne, and dignity; lest an endless character of ingratitude lie upon them, that may turn to their ruin." As to the King himself, besides mentioning his justice, his magnanimity, his sobriety, his charity, and other virtues, he has these words: "I do declare before God and the world, whether in relation to the Kirk, or State, I found his Majesty the most intelligent man that ever I spake with, as far beyond my expression, as expectation—I profess, I was oftentimes astonished with the quickness of his reasons and replies; wondered, how he, spending his time in sports and recreations, could have attained to so great knowledge, and must confess, that I was convinced in conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable satisfaction; yet the sweetness of his disposition is such, that whatever I said, was well taken. I must say, that I never met with any disputant of that mild and calm temper, which convinced me, that his wisdom and moderation could not be without an extraordinary measure of divine grace. I dare say, if his advice had been followed, all the blood that is shed, and all the rapine that has been committed, would have been prevented." (Dr. B.)

Mr. Butler is mistaken in saying, that Henderson was one of the persons sent to dispute with the King in the Isle of Wight; for Mr. Henderson died October 31, 1646, (*Whitelock's Memorials*, 2d edit. p. 221) and the treaty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, began Monday the 18th of September, 1648, (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 611. *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 337.) near two years after Mr. Henderson's death.

v. 1241, 1242. *To pass for deep and learned scholars,—Although but paltry Ob-and-Sollers.*] *Ob and Sollers* are said by the annotator to be

As if th' unseasonable fools
 Had been a coursing in the schools ;
 Until th' had prov'd the Devil author 1245
 O' th' *covenant*, and the *cause* his daughter.
 For when they charg'd him with the guilt
 Of all the blood that had been spilt ;
 They did not mean he wrought th' effusion,
 In person, like SIR PRIDE, or HEWSON : 1250

"two ridiculous scribblers, that were often pestering the world with nonsense." Two scribblers that never wrote at all, or were known only to our annotator.

Whoever considers the context, will find, that *Ob* and *Sollers* are designed as a character of Mr. Henderson and his fellow disputants, who are called *Masses* (as *Mas* is an abridgment of *Master*) ; that is, young masters in divinity ; and this character signifies something quite contrary to deep and learned scholars ; particularly such as had studied controversies, as they are handled by 'little books, or systems, (of the Dutch and Geneva cut) where the authors represent their adversaries' arguments by small objections, and subjoin their own pitiful solutions : in the margin of these books may be seen *Ob.* and *Sol.* Such mushroom divines are ingeniously and compendiously called *Ob-and-Sollers*. (Dr. N.)

*Next comes in gold, that brasen face,
 If blust'ring be a sign of grace,
 The youth is in a woeful case :
 Whilst he should give us, Sols and Obs,
 He brings us in some simple bobs,
 And fathers them on Mr. Hobbs.*

The Rota. See *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. 2. p. 217.

v. 1250. *Like SIR PRIDE*——] Pride was a foundling, to which the following lines allude. (*Collection of Loyal Songs*, &c. vol. 1. p. 181.)

*He by fortune's design should have been a divine,
 And a pillar no doubt of the church ;
 Whom a scaton (God wot) in the belfry begot,
 And his mother did pig in the porch.*

He had been a brewer, or rather a drayman ; for which he is sneered by the same poet. Id. ib. st. 5.

But only those, who first begun
 The quarrel, were by him set on :
 And who could those be but the *saints*,
 Those reformation termagants ?

*But observe the devise of this nobleman's rise,
 How he hurried from trade to trade ;
 From the grains he'd aspire to the yeast, and then higher ;
 'Till at length he a drayman was made.*

He went into the army, was made a colonel, and was principally concerned in secluding the members, in order to the King's trial : which great change was called *Colonel Pride's Purge*. (See *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 621.) He was one of Oliver Cromwell's Upper House. (See *Second Narrative of the Parliament so called*, p. 23. *Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 252.) He is called *Thomas Lord Pride*, in the commission for erecting a High Court of Justice for the trial of Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, &c. *Mercurius Politicus*, num. 413. p. 492. Mr. Butler calls him *Sir Pride*, by way of sneer upon the manner of his being knighted : for Oliver Cromwell knighted him with a faggot stick, instead of a sword. (See *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. 2. p. 587.) A knighthood not much unlike that proposed by Ralph, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, (see *Beaumont and Fletcher's Play* so called, edit. 1635. p. 32.) to the Innkeeper, in lieu of his reckoning.

Ralph. *Sir Knight, this mirth of yours becomes you well ;
 But to requite this liberal courtesy,
 If any of your Squires will follow arms,*
 [Viz. Chamberlaine, Tapstero, and Ostlero.]
*He shall receive from my heroic hand,
 A knighthood, by the virtue of this pestle.*

Ibid.———[or *Hewson*] He was a cobbler, went into the army, and was made a colonel ; knighted by Oliver Cromwell, and to help to cobbler the crazy state of the nation, was made one of Oliver's Upper House. (See *Second Narrative*, &c. p. 23.) Sir Roger L'Estrange (see *Fable of the Cobbler turned Doctor*, 1st part, fab. 401. see likewise 2d part, fab. 37.) makes the following remark upon Hewson : " This minds me of a question a cobbling Colonel of famous memory (and he was a statesman of the long Parliament edition) put to a lady of quality in

But ere this pass'd, the wise debate 1255
 Spent so much time, it grew too late ;
 For OLIVER had gotten ground,
 T' inclose him with his warriors round ;

Ireland: she had been so terribly plundered, that the poor woman went almost barefoot ; and as she was warming her feet once in the chimney corner, the Colonel took notice, that her shoes wanted *capping*. Lord, Madam, (says he) why do ye wear no better shoes ? Why, truly Sir, (says she) *all the Coblers are turned Colonels, and I can get nobody to mend them*. He observes farther of this infamous cobbling Colonel, (*Key to Hudibras*) " That the day the King was beheaded, he went with a body of horse from Charing-cross to the Royal Exchange, proclaiming all the way, *That whosoever should say that Charles Stuart died wrongfully, should suffer present death*. And he is justly sneered by another loyal poet, in the following lines :

*A one-ey'd cobbler then was one
 Of that rebellious crew,
 That did in Charles the Martyr's blood,
 Their wicked hands imbrew.*

Tale of the Cobbler, and Vicar of Bray, Butler's Spurious Remains.

*Make room for one-ey'd Hewson,
 A lord of such account,
 'Twas a pretty jest
 That such a beast
 Should to such honours mount.
 When Coblers were in fashion,
 And niggards in such grace ;
 'Twas sport to see,
 How Pride and he,
 Did jostle for the place.*

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2. p. 11.

See a further account of him, *Committee of Safety, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2. No. 31. p. 152. The Cobbler's last Will and Testament, or Hewson's Translation, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2. p. 233. A Hymn to the gentle Craft, or Hewson's Lamentation, id. ib. No. 54. p. 240. Oliver's Court, Butler's Spurious Remains: and of his villany, Trial of Wilham Hulet, as Executioner of the King; Trials of the Regicides, 1660, p. 228. and Sir Roger L'Estrange's Apology, p. 46.*

Had brought his providence about,
 And turn'd th' untimely sophists out. 1260
 Nor had the *Uxbridge bus'ness* less
 Of nonsense in't, or sottishness ;

where he observes, " That a brother cobbler was killed by his order."

v. 1257. *For OLIVER had gotten ground, &c.*] Cromwell was in Scotland when the treaty of Newport began, but it went on with a fatal slowness, chiefly by the means of Sir Harry Vane, Pierpoint, and some others, who went to it on purpose to delay matters ; and partly by the diffidence of that religious Monarch, who could not come to a resolution so soon as his friends desired earnestly of him : so that by the time it was come to any maturity, Cromwell came with his army from Scotland to London, and overturned all. (Mr. B.) See *Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 18.

v. 1260. *And turn'd th' untimely sophists out*] See note upon v. 1250.

v. 1261, 1262. *Nor had the Uxbridge bus'ness less—Of nonsense in't, or sottishness*] The Parliament's commissioners were tied up to rigid rules, and seemed to have no power of receding from the very letter of the propositions they brought along with them. This is confirmed by the King's letter to his Queen, of the 5th of March after. " Now is come to pass (says he) what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty ; but I am still very confident, that I shall find the good effects of it : for besides, that my commissioners have offered (to say no more) full measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which, I dare say, had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner : so that assuredly, the breach will light foully upon them." This sentiment is just and rational, since the Parliament's commissioners were inflexible, and made not the least concession. As to what has been pretended in some memoirs, (*Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. 1. p. 39, &c.) that the King abruptly broke up this treaty, upon the Marquis of Montrose's letter to him, upon his victory in Scotland, I think it may be refuted by the King's letter to his Queen of the 19th of February, wherein he tells her, " He even then received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose, who upon surprise totally routed those rebels and killed 1500 of them upon the place." This is all he says of it, and if he had received such a letter as is pretended, or this victory had such an extraordinary effect upon him, no

When from a scoundrel holder-forth,
 The scum, as well as son o' th' earth,
 Your mighty senators took law, 1265
 At his command were fore'd t' withdraw,
 And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation
 To doctrine, use, and application.
 So when the Scots, your constant cronies,
 Th' espousers of your *cause*, and monies, 1270
 Who had so often, in your aid,
 So many ways been soundly paid:
 Came in at last for better ends,
 To prove themselves your trusty friends;

doubt he would in the height of his joy have told the Queen of it; to whom he opened his bosom, and frankly communicated all his secret intentions. Nay, does he not in his letter of the 5th of March, when the treaty was broke up, absolutely lay the fruitless issue of it to the rigidity of the Parliament's commissioners? If it had been rendered ineffectual by his means, or if he had receded upon this intelligence from any proposition he had before agreed to; certainly the Queen must have been acquainted with so extraordinary a motive: On the contrary, he was desirous the treaty might be prolonged, in hopes of an accommodation; for on the 19th of February he tells her, "he had sent an enlargement of days, for the limited days for treating were then almost expired." These are authorities drawn out of the King's own letters, which fell into the power of the Parliament at Naseby fight; which were soon afterwards published to the world by special order of Parliament, under the title of *The King's Cabinet opened*; with severe annotations upon them. And can we think, that if the least hint of this secret piece of history had been found, the strict and partial examiners of those letters and papers would not have triumphed at the discovery, and blazoned it to the good people of England in their plausible annotations? I have been thus particular in refuting this ill-natured insinuation, because it has of late so often been mentioned in conversation, and the truth of it by some men, who are no friends to the memory of that excellent Monarch, taken for granted. (Mr. B.)

You basely left them, and the church 1275
 They train'd you up to, in the lurch,
 And suffer'd your own tribe of Christians
 To fall before, as true Philistines.

v. 1263. —————a scoundrel holder-forth] This was Mr. Christopher Love, a furious Presbyterian, who, when the King's commissioners met those of the Parliament at Uxbridge in the year 1644, to treat of peace, preached a sermon there on the 30th of January, against the treaty, and said, among other things, that "no good was to be expected from it, for that they (meaning the King's commissioners) came from Oxford, with *hearts full of blood.*"

Mr. Echard, (vol. 2. p. 106. from *Dr. Nelson*) mentions a *providential vengeance upon him*, occasioned by this incident. That the *letter of reprieve* from Cromwell was taken from the northern post-boy by some Cavaliers on the road. (See an account of his abject behaviour at his execution, *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 128, &c.)

v. 1269, 1270. *So when the Scots, your constant cronies,—Th' espousers of your cause and monies*] The expence the English rebels engaged the nation in, by bringing in their brother rebels from Scotland, amounted to an extravagant sum; their receipts in money, and free quarter, 1,462,769l. 5s. 3d. (See *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 3d Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 270. and *Appendix*, No. 62, 63, 64, 65.) William Lilly, the Sidrophel of this Poem, observes of the Scots, (*Preface to his Astrological Predictions of the Occurrences of England*, 1648, 1649, 1650.) "That they came into England purposely to steal our goods, ravish our wives, enslave our persons, inherit our possessions and birth-rights, remain here in England, and everlastingly to inhabit among us."

Mr. Bowlstrode, son of Colonel Bowlstrode, a factious rebel in Buckinghamshire, in his prayer before his sermon, at Horton near Colebrook, used the following words: "Thou hast, O Lord, of late written bitter things against thy children, and forsaken thine own inheritance: and now, O Lord, in our misery and distress we expected aid from our brethren of our neighbouring nation, (the Scots I mean) but, good Lord, thou knowest, that they are a false and perfidious nation; and do all they do for their own ends."—(*Mercurius Rusticus*, No. 14. p. 157.)

By the author of a tract, entitled *Lex Talionis*, 1647, p. 9. it is

This shews what utensils y' have been,
 To bring the King's concernments in : 1280
 Which is so far from being true,
 That none but he can bring in you :
 And if he take you into trust,
 Will find you most exactly just :

proposed, as a preventing remedy, " to let the Scots, in the name of God, or of the Devil that sent them, go home."

*I must confess the holy frk
 Did only work
 Upon our kirk
 For silver and for meat,
 Which made us come with aw our broods,
 To venture our bloods,
 For aw your goods,
 To pilfer and to cheat.*

The Scotch War, Collection of Loyal Songs, reprinted 1731, vol. 1. No. 24.

*For of late the treacherous Scots and wee,
 On a national covenant did agree ;
 And bound ourselves by solemn oath,
 Ne'er after to keep faith and trothe ;
 And well may we swear,
 They're our brethren deare.
 For they have cost us many a thousand pound ;
 And for all that we have got
 But this advantage from the Scot,
 We are turn'd rebellious and round.*

A new Ballad, called a Review of the Rebellion, in three Parts. See a further account of the Scotch rebels, Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. 2. p. 308, 339, &c. Perrival's History of the Iron Age, part 1. p. 88. part 2. p. 208.

v. 1273. *Came in at last for better ends*] Alluding to the invasion of England by the Scots in favour of the Royal cause, when the English Presbyterians, instead of joining their northern brethren, as was expected, assisted the *Philistines*, (as they termed the Independents) in driving them out. (ED.)

Such as will punctually repay 1285
With double int'rest, and betray.

Not that I think those pantomimes,
Who vary action with the times,
Are less ingenious in their art,
Than those who dully act one part ; 1290
Or those who turn from side to side,
More guilty than the wind and tide ;
All countries are a wise man's home,
And so are governments to some,
Who change them for the same intrigues 1295
That statesmen use in breaking leagues :
While others in old faiths, and troths,
Look odd, as out-of-fashion'd cloaths :
And nastier, in an old opinion,
Than those who never shift their linen. 1300
For true and faithful's sure to lose,
Which way soever the game goes :
And whether parties lose or win,
Is always nick'd, or else hedg'd in,
While pow'r usurp'd, like stol'n delight, 1305
Is more bewitching than the right,
And when the times begin to alter,
None rise so high as from the halter.
And so may we, if w' have but sense
To use the necessary means. 1310

v. 1308. *None rise so high as from the halter*] This was Sir Sampson Legend's opinion in Jeremy's case, *Congreve's Love for Love*, act 2. sc. 4. and Gibbet's; see answer to Archer, *Beaux Stratagem*, act 2. p. 25.

And not your usual stratagems
 On one another, lights and dreams.
 To stand on terms as positive,
 As if we did not take, but give:
 Set up the *covenant* on crutches, 1315
 'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,
 And dream of pulling churches down,
 Before w' are sure to prop our own:
 Your constant method of proceeding,
 Without the carnal means of heeding: 1320
 Who 'twixt your inward sense, and outward,
 Are worse, than if y' had none, accoutred.

I grant, all courses are in vain,
 Unless we can get in again;
 The only way that's left us now, 1325
 But all the difficulty's, *how* ?
 'Tis true, w' have money, th' only pow'r
 That all mankind falls down before;

v. 1327. 1328. 'Tis true, w' have money, th' only pow'r—That all mankind falls down before] “ 'Tis with money, as it is with Majesty, (says Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Reflection on the Fable of the Countrymen and Kid*, First Part, fab. 340.) all other powers and authorities cease, whilst that is in place.—Fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, relations, friendships, are all but empty names of things.—It is interest that governs the world, and the rulers of it: for it works in all degrees and qualities of men.—Money, in fine, is the universal passport; and all doors open before it.”

Nihil autem tam arduum quod pecunia non explicitur: Quem-admodum eleganter dictum est a M. Tullio, actione in Verrem secundâ, nihil esse tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum, quod non expugnari pecunia possit. Ortam aiunt Piræmiam ab oraculo quodam Appollinis Pythii, qui Philippo regi consulenti, quo pacto possit victorid potiri? Respondit ad hunc modum,

Money, that, like the swords of kings,
 Is the last reason of all things : 1330
 And therefore need not doubt our play
 Has all advantages that way :
 As long as men have faith to sell,
 And meet with those that can pay well ;
 Whose half-starv'd pride and avarice, 1335
 One church and state will not suffice,
 T' expose to sale, beside the wages
 Of storing plagues to after-ages.
 Nor is our money less our own,
 Than 'twas before we laid it down : 1340

Ἀργύριος λόγῳσι μάχῃ, καὶ πάντα νικήσῃς.

[qu. κρηπίτις.]

i. e. *Argenteis pugna telis atque omnia vinctes,*

videlicet innuens, ut quosdam largitionibus ad proditionem sollicitaret, atque ita consecuturum quæ vellet. Erasmi Adag. Chil. 2. Cent. 7. Prov. 43. vol. 2. op. p. 624. Vide etiam. Adag. Chil. 1. Cent. 3. Prov. 87. vol. 2. p. 144. Pecuniæ obediunt omnia. (See Ray's Proverbs, 2d ed. p. 147.)

Ψυχὴ βροτοῖσιν αἶμα τ' ἔστιν ἄργυρος.

Sententia Poetæ Timochus. Vid. Natal. Comit. Mythol. lib. 2. cap. 2, Reusneri Symbol. Imperat. class 1. sym. 22. p. 48. &c.

See Shakespear's Timon of Athens, act 4. vol. 5. p. 273. Turkish Spy, vol. 4. book 4. letter 2d. Spectator, No. 450. Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero, 4to edit. vol. 1. p. 266.

v. 1329, 1330. *Money, that, like the swords of kings, — Is the last reason of all things]* See the *Spectator's* dissertation upon the *Argumentum Basilinum*, (others write it *Bacilinum* or *Baculinum*.) No. 239.

“ A man (says the *Spectator*, No. 240) who is furnished with arguments from the minut, will convince his antagonists much sooner than one who draws them from reason and philosophy: gold is a wonderful clearer of the understanding; it dissipates every doubt and scruple in an

For 'twill return, and turn t' account,
If we are brought in play upon't ;
Or but by casting knaves, get in,
What pow'r can hinder us to win ?
We know the arts we us'd before, 1345
In peace and war, and something more.
And by th' unfortunate events,
Can mend our next experiments :
For when w' are taken into trust,
How easy are the wisest chous'd ? 1350
Who see but th' outsides of our feats,
And not their secret springs and weights :
And while they're busy at their ease,
Can carry what designs we please.
How easy is't to serve for agents, 1355
To prosecute our old engagements ?
To keep the *good old cause* on foot,
And present power from taking root ;
Inflame them both with false alarms
Of plots, and parties taking arms 1360
To keep the nation's wounds too wide
For healing up of side to side,
Profess the passionat'st concerns
For both their interests, by turns.
The only way t'improve our own, 1365
By dealing faithfully with none ;
(As bowls run true, by being made
On purpose false, and to be sway'd)

instant, accommodates itself to the meanest capacities, silences the loud
and clamorous, and brings over the most obstinate and inflexible."

For if we should be true to either,
 'Twould turn us out of both together? 1370
 And therefore have no other means
 To stand upon our own defence,
 But keeping up our ancient party
 In vigour, confident and hearty :
 To reconcile our late dissenters, 1375
 Our brethren, though by other venters :
 Unite them, and their different maggots
 As long and short sticks are in faggots :
 And make them join again as close,
 As when they first began t'espouse? 1380
 Erect them into separate
 New Jewish tribes, in church and state ;
 To join in marriage, and commerce,
 And only among themselves converse,
 And all that are not of their mind, 1385
 Make enemies to all mankind :
 Take all religions in, and stickle
 From conclave down to conventicle ;
 Agreeing still, or disagreeing,
 According to the light in being. 1390
 Sometimes for liberty of conscience,
 And spiritual mis-rule, in one sense :
 But in another quite contrary,
 As dispensations chance to vary :
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395
 All contradictions of the spirit :
 Protect their emissaries empower'd,

v. 1368. *Of purpose false*] In all editions to 1704 exclusive.

To preach sedition, and the word :
 And when they're hamper'd by the laws,
 Release the lab'rers for the *cause* : 1400
 And turn the persecution back
 On those that made the first attack,
 To keep them equally in awe,
 From breaking or maintaining law :
 And when they have their fits too soon, 1405
 Before the full-tides of the Moon ;
 Put off their zeal t' a fitter season,
 For sowing faction in, and treason ;
 And keep them hooded, and their churches,
 Like hawks from bating on their perches. 1410
 That when the blessed time shall come
 Of quitting Babylon, and Rome,
 They may be ready to restore
 Their own *Fifth Monarchy* once more.
 Meanwhile be better arm'd to fence 1415
 Against revolts of Providence ;
 By watching narrowly, and snapping
 All blind sides of it, as they happen :
 For if success could make us saints,
 Our ruin turn'd us miscreants : 1420

v. 1414. *Their own Fifth Monarchy once more*] Dr. Lightfoot (see *Sermon on the Fifth of November*, 1669, *Works*, vol. 2. p. 1166. See likewise 1056, 1057.) speaks of the *Fifth Monarchy Men* in the following manner. " And here (says he) I doubt the *Fifth Monarchy Man* is foully mistaken in his reckoning, when he accounts the *Fifth Monarchy* to be the *Kingdom of Christ* : whereas the *Fifth Monarchy* was the *Kingdom of the Devil*."

v. 1419, 1420. *For if success could make us saints,—Our ruin turn'd us miscreants*] The author of the *Fourth Part of the History of Inde-*

A scandal that wou'd fall too hard
 Upon a few, and unprepar'd.
 These are the courses we must run,
 Spite of our hearts, or be undone :
 And not to stand on terms and freaks, 1425
 Before we have secur'd our necks,
 But do our work, as out of sight,
 As stars by day, and suns by night :
 All licence of the people own,
 In opposition to the crown ; 1430
 And for the crown as fiercely side,
 The head and body to divide.
 The end of all we first design'd,
 And all that yet remains behind :
 Be sure to spare no publick rapine, 1435
 On all emergencies that happen ;

pendency, p. 56. compares the governors of those times with the Turks, who ascribe the goodness of their cause to the keenness of their sword, denying that any thing may properly be called *nefas*, if it can but win the epithet of *prosperum*. Dr. Owen seems to have been in this way of thinking: " Where (says he, *Eben Ezer*, p. 13. *L'Estrange's Dissenter's Sayings*, part 2. p. 11.) is the *God of Marston Moor*, and the *God of Naseby* ? is an acceptable expostulation in a glorious day. Oh ! what a catalogue of mercies has this nation to plead by in a time of trouble ! The God came from Naseby, and the Holy One from the west. *Selah*."

And a poet of those times banters them upon this head, in the following lines :

*That side is always right that's strong,
 And that that's beaten must be wrong ;
 And he that thinks that 'tis not so,
 Unless he's sure to beat 'em too,
 Is but a fool to oppose 'em.*

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2. p. 143.

For 'tis as easy to supplant
 Authority, as men in want :
 As some of us, in trusts, have made
 The one hand with the other trade ; 1440
 Gain'd vastly by their joint endeavour,
 The right a thief, the left receiver ;
 And what the one, by tricks, forestall'd,
 The other, by as sly, retail'd :
 For gain has wonderful effects 1445
 T' improve the factory of sects :
 The rule of faith in all professions,
 And *great Diana of th' Ephesians* :
 Whence turning of religion's made
 The means to turn and wind a trade. 1450
 And though some change it for the worse,
 They put themselves into a course,
 And draw in store of customers,
 To thrive the better in commerce ;
 For all religions flock together, 1455
 Like tame and wild fowl of a feather :

See the rebellion justified (by their rebel-preachers) from success ;
Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers, p. 22, &c.

v. 1448. *And great Diana of th' Ephesians*] See *Acts* xix. 28.

v. 1456. *Like tame and wild fowl of a feather*] “ *Birds of a feather, flock together.*” See *Ray's Proverbial Sentences*, b. 38. p. 61. edit. 1670.

v. 1459. *Hence 'tis hypocrisy, as well, &c.*]

“ *Hypocrisy will serve as well
 To propagate a church as zeal ;
 As persecution and promotion
 Do equally advance devotion :
 So round white stones will serve they say,
 As well as eggs, to make hens lay.*”

Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. 1. (Ed.)

To nab the itches of their sects,
As jades do one another's necks.
Hence 'tis hypocrisy, as well
Will serve t'improve a church, as zeal : 1460
As persecution, or promotion,
Do equally advance devotion.

Let bus'ness, like ill watches, go
Sometime too fast, sometime too slow :
For things in order are put out 1465
So easy, ease itself will do't ;
But when the feat's design'd and meant,
What miracle can bar th' event ?
For 'tis more easy to betray,
Than ruin any other way. 1470
All possible occasions start
The weightiest matters to divert ;
Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,
And lay perpetual trains to wrangle.
But in affairs of less import, 1475
That neither do us good nor hurt,
And they receive as little by,
Out-fawn as much, and out-comply ;
And seem as scrupulously just,
To bait our hooks for greater trust. 1480
But still be careful to cry down
All publick actions, though our own :
The least miscarriage aggravate,
And charge it all upon the state :
Express the horrids't detestation, 1485
And pity the distracted nation ;

Tell stories scandalous, and false,
 I' th' proper language of cabals,
 Where all a subtle statesman says,
 Is half in words, and half in face ; 1490
 (As Spaniards talk in dialogues,
 Of heads and shoulders, nods and shrugs)
 Entrust it under solemn vows
 Of *mum*, and *silence*, and *the rose*,
 To be retail'd again in whispers, 1495
 For th' easy credulous to disperse.

v. 1493, 1494. *Entrust it under solemn vows—Of mum ———*] *Mum* in print (says Dr. Baynard, *History of Cold Baths*, p. 132.) is like the sealing a bond in private, which begins, *Noverint universi*.

Ibid.—*and silence*—] See an account of the secrecy of the Venetian Councils, *Howel's History of the Signory of Venice*, p. 7.

Ibid.—*and the rose*] See this fully explained, *Stuckii Antiquitat. Convivial.* lib. 3. cap. 16. *Levini Lemnii Herbar. Biblior. explicat.* cap. 45. *Angeli Politiani Miscell.* cap. 83. *Gruteri Fax Art.* tom. 1. p. 100. *Sir T. Browne's Vulgar Errours*, book 5. chap. 21. sect. 7. *Archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece*, vol. 2. chap. 20.

v. 1495. *To be retail'd again in whispers*] The entrusting of secrets, with a design of having them divulged, is well exposed, in Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Fable of the Woman entrusted with a Secret*, part 1. fab. 427. who (by way of trial and banter) was entrusted by her husband with the secret of his having *laid an egg*, which was increased to *forty eggs* by six in the afternoon.

Rabelais (*Works*, vol. 3. chap. 34.) informs us, how Pope John XXII reproved the Abbess and Nuns of Fontherralt, for not being able to keep a secret with which he had entrusted them twenty-four hours, though they had desired of him an indulgence to *confess* themselves to one another under the *seal of secrecy*. See *Wife of Bath's Tale*, *Dryden's Fables*, folio, p. 485. *Tatler*, No. 152.

v. 1504. *He thus began his tale by fits*] We learn from Lilly, (*Life*, p. 85.) that the messenger who brought this terrifying intelligence to this cabal was Sir Martin Noell, whom he calls a discreet citizen;

Thus far the Statesman——when a shout,
 Heard at a distance, put him out ;
 And strait another, all aghast,
 Rush'd in with equal fear and haste : 1500
 Who star'd about, as pale as death,
 And, for a while, as out of breath :
 Till having gather'd up his wits,
 He thus began his tale by fits.

That beastly rabble,——that came down 1505
 From all the garrets—in the town,
 And stalls, and shop-boards,—in vast swarms,
 With new-chalk'd bills—and rusty arms,
 To cry the *cause*—up, heretofore,
 And bawl the BISHOPS—out of door ; 1510
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,
 To roast,—and broil us on the coals,
 And all the grandees—of our members
 Are carbonading—on the embers ;

he came about nine at night, and told them the surprising news of the citizens burning the Parliament (which they then called the *Rump*) in effigy and emblem. Lilly says, "This council of state (the very cabal before us) could not believe it, until they had sent some ministers of their own, who affirmed the verity of it." Sir Martin tells his story naturally, and begins like a man in a fright, and out of breath, and continues to make breaks and stops till he naturally recovers it; and then proceeds floridly, and without impediment. This is a beauty in the poem, not to be disregarded: and let the reader make an experiment, and shorten his breath; or, in other words, put himself into Sir Martin's condition, and then read this relation, and he will soon be convinced that the breaks are natural and judicious. (Mr. B.)

v. 1505. *The beastly rabble, that came down &c.*] * This is an accurate description of the mob's burning rumps upon the admission of the secluded Members, in contempt of the Rump Parliament."

Knights, citizens, and burgesses—— 1515

Held forth by *rumps*——of pigs and geese,

That serve for characters——and badges

To represent their personages :

Each bonfire is a funeral pile,

In which they roast, and scorch, and broil, 1520

And ev'ry representative

Have vow'd to roast——and broil alive :

And 'tis a miracle, we are not

Already sacrific'd incarnate.

For while we wrangle here, and jar, 1525

W' are grilly'd all at Temple Bar :

Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,

Hang in effigy, on the gallows,

Made up of rags, to personate

Respective officers of state ; 1530

That henceforth, they may stand reputed,

Proscrib'd in law, and executed,

And while the work is carrying on,

Be ready listed under DUN :

v. 1534. *Be ready listed under DUN*] *Dun* was the public executioner at that time, and the executioners, long after that, went by the same name. In the *Proposals for farming Liberty of Conscience*, (*Butler's Spurious Remains*) amongst other resolutions, is the following one : " Resolved, that a day of solemn fasting be"—and among many other particulars—" Lastly, to be delivered from the hand of *Dun*, that uncircumcised Philistine."

His predecessor's name was Gregory, as appears from the prologue to *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, a tragick-comedy, acted at Paris, &c. 1641.

*This trembles under the black rod, and he
Doth fear his fate from the Gregorian tree.*

And in a paper called the *Parliament Kite*, 1648, No. 14, mention is made of him ;

That worthy patriot, once the bellows, 1535
 And tinder-box, of all his fellows :
 The activ'st member of the *Five*,
 As well as the most primitive ;

*What would you say, to see them fall,
 With both their houses vile ;
 Because they have deceiv'd us all,
 Now Gregory they'll beguile.*

Sir John Birkenhead likewise mentions him, *Paul's Church Yard*, cent. 3, class. 13, No. 68. Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms, was imposed upon by Brook, a herald, who procured him by artifice to confirm arms to *Gregory Brandon*, who was found to be *common hangman of London*. *Anstis's Register of the Garter*, vol. 1, p. 399. And from him, probably, the hangman was called *Gregory* for some time. The name of *Dun*, which succeeded that of *Gregory*, is mentioned by Cotton, *Virgil Travestie*, published 1670, b. 4, p. 124.

*Away therefore my lass does trot,
 And presently a halter got,
 Made of the best strong hempen tear,
 And ere a cat could lick her ear,
 Had tied it up with as much art
 As Dun himself could do for's heart.*

(See *Marquis of Argyle's Last Will and Testament*, 1661, p. 5.)

Nay, the name of *Dun* was continued to these *finishers of the law*, (as they have sometimes affected to stile themselves and 'squires by their office, from the confirmation, I suppose, of Gregory Brandon's arms) twelve years longer ; when one Jack Ketch about threescore years ago was advanced to that office, who has left his name to his successors ever since. This appears from *Butler's Ghost*, published 1682 ; when the author wrote the former part of it, it is plain that *Dun* was the executioner's name, or nick-name.

*For you yourself to act 'Squire Dun,
 Such ignominy ne'er saw the men.*

Butler's Ghost, (by D'Urfey.) p. 28.

But before he had printed off his poem Jack Ketch was in office.

*'Till Ketch observing he was chous'd,
 And in his profits much abus'd ;
 In open hall the tribune dunn'd,
 To do his office, or refund.*

Butler's Ghost, p. 54. See *Loyal Songs*, vol. 2, No. 2, p. 5.

Who, for his faithful service then,
Is chosen for a *Fifth* again : 1540
(For since the State has made a *quint*
Of Generals, he's listed in't)

None of these in their office could come up to the Dutch headsmen, mentioned by Mr. Cleveland, (*Character of a London Diurnal*) of whom it was reported, " That he would do his office with so much ease and dexterity, that the head after the execution should stand upon the shoulders." Or to the executioner of Stockholm, who was condemned to that office at ten years old, for cutting off the head of another boy at play. *A. de la Motraye's Travels*, vol. 2, p. 361.

v. 1540. *Is chosen for a Fifth again.*] Sir Arthur Haslerig, one of the *five members* of the House of Commons, was impeached 1641-2. See *Lord Clarendon, Echard, Rapin, &c.* Sir Arthur Haslerig (as Mr. Walker observes, *History of Independency*, part 1, p. 173) was governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, had the Bishop of Durham's house, park, and manor of Aukland, and six thousand five hundred pounds in money given him. He died in the Tower of London, January 8, 1661. *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 1, p. 16.

The writer of an *Elegy upon King Charles the First*, p. 9. (1648) gives but a scurvy character of him, in the following lines :

*Nor John of Leyden, who the pillag'd quires
Employ'd in Munster for his own attires :
His pranks by Haslerig exceeded be,
A wretch more wicked, and as mad as he ;
Who once in triumph led his sumpter mules,
Proudly bedecked with the altar's spoils.*

See *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 143.

See his character, *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 718. *Walker's History of Independency*, part 1, p. 29.; part 4, p. 37.; where he calls him, *A Saint of the Devil's last edition*. A tract, entitled, *A true and exact Relation of the great and heavy Pressures and Grievances, the well-affected northern bordering Counties lie under, by Sir Arthur Haslerig's Misgovernment ; by John Musgrave*. London, printed anno dom. 1650. *Lilly's Life*, p. 48. *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2, p. 279.

v. 1541, 1542. ————— *a quint — Of Generals*] The Rump growing jealous of General Monk, ordered, that the Generalship should be vested in five commissioners—Monk, Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured; making three a quorum, but denying a motion that Monk

This worthy, as the world will say,
 Is paid in specie, his own way ;
 For, moulded to the life in clouts, 1545
 Th' have pick'd from dung-hills hereabouts,
 He's mounted on a *hazel-bavin*,
 A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em :
 And to the largest bonfire riding,
 They've roasted COOKE already, and PRIDE in. 1550

should be of that quorum. (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 2, p. 881. *Rapin's History of England*, vol. 2, p. 614.) But their authority not being then much regarded, this order was not obeyed, and Monk continued sole General notwithstanding. (See *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 830, &c.)

v. 1547. *He's mounted on a hazel-bavin.*] Alluding to *Hazlerig's* name. *Bavin* signifies a *brush faggot*.

*It yearly costs five hundred pounds besides
 To fence the town from Hull, and Humber's tides,
 For stakes, for bavons, timber, stones, and piles, &c.*

J. Taylor's Merry wherry Voyage, Works, p. 13.

Shakespear uses the word (in his *First Part of Henry IV.* act 3, vol. 3, p. 400) where the King, speaking of Richard the Second, says,

*The skipping king, he ambled up and down
 With shallow jesters, and rash bavin wits,
 Soon kindled, and soon burn'd.*

See *Mr. Peck's Note, New Memoirs of Milton's Life*, p. 246.

v. 1550. *Th' have roasted COOKE*] The wicked wretch who acted as solicitor in the King's trial, and drew up a charge of high treason against him, and had drawn up a formal plea against him, in case he had submitted to the jurisdiction of the court. At his own trial he pleaded, that what he did was as a lawyer for his fee. He deservedly suffered at Tyburn, as a regicide. (See *Lord Clarendon* and *Mr. Echard*.)

*When Pluto keeps his feast,
 The rogues must all appear ;
 And Mr. Scot, I had forgot,
 Must taste of this good cheer :*

On whom, in equipage and state,
 His scare-crow fellow-members wait,
 And march in order, two and two,
 As at thanksgivings th' us'd to do ;
 Each in a tatter'd talisman, 1555
 Like vermin in effigie slain.

But (what's more dreadful than the rest)
 Those *rumps* are but the *tail o' th' Beast*
 Set up by Popish engineers,
 As by the crackers plainly appears ; 1560
 For none but Jesuits have a mission,
 To preach the faith with ammunition,
 And propagate the church with powder ;
 Their FOUNDER was a blown-up soldier.
 These spir'tual pioneers o' th' Whore's, 1565
 That have the charge of all her stores ;
 Since first they fail'd in their designs,
 To take in heav'n by springing mines :
 And with unanswerable barrels
 Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels : 1570

*Find out the man, quoth Pluto,
 That is the greatest sinner,
 If Cooke be he, then Cooke shall be
 The cook to cook my dinner.*

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2, p. 13.

v. 1564. *Their FOUNDER was a blown-up soldier*] Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the society of the Jesuits, was a gentleman of Biscay in Spain, and bred a soldier; was at Pampeluna when it was besieged by the French, in the year 1521, and was so very lame in both feet, by the damage he sustained there, that he was forced to keep his bed. Vide *Ignatii Vit.* lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 279.

v. 1568.—*by springing mines*] Alluding to the gun-powder treason, conducted by the Jesuits. (Mr. W.)

Now take a course more practicable,
 By laying trains to fire the rabble,
 And blow us up, in th' open streets,
 Disguis'd in *rumps*, like *sambenites* ;
 More like to ruin, and confound, 1575
 Than all their doctrines under ground.
 Nor have they chosen *rumps* amiss,
 For symbols of state-mysteries ;
 Though some suppose 'twas but to shew
 How much they scorn'd the *saints*, the few, 1580
 Who 'cause they're wasted to the stumps,
 Are represented best by *rumps*.
 But Jesuits have deeper reaches
 In all their politic far-fetches :
 And from the Coptick priest, Kircherus, 1585
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us.
 For, as th' Ægyptians us'd by *bees*
 T' express their antique Ptolomys ;

v. 1574. *Disguis'd in rumps, like sambenites*] *Sambenite*, (or *Sanbenito*) a coat of coarse cloth, in which penitents are reconciled to the church of Rome; and prisoners wear it sometimes for a year in prison. It is also (as here meant) a coat of coarse canvas painted with devils and ugly shapes, which persons condemned for heresy by the Spanish Inquisition wear when they go to execution. (See *Discovery of the Inquisition*, by Reginaldus Gonsalvus Montanus, 1568, fo. 45. *Limborch's History of the Inquisition*, translated by Mr. Chandler, vol. 2, p. 295. *Mr. Baker's History of the Inquisition*, chap. 7, p. 44, 360, 480, 506. *Don Quixote*, vol. 4, p. 682.

v. 1585. *And from the Coptick priest, Kircherus.*] "Athanasius Kircher, a Jesuit, hath wrote largely on the Egyptian mystical learning." *Kirkerus* in the two first editions.

v. 1587. *For, as th' Egyptians us'd by bees, &c.*] "The Egyptians represented their kings, (many of whose names were Ptolomy) under

And by their stings, the swords they wore,
 Held forth authority and power : 1590
 Because these subtle animals
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails ;
 And when they're once impair'd in that,
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state :
 They thought all governments were best 1595
 By hieroglyphick *rumps* exprest.
 For, as in bodies natural,
 The *rump's* the fundament of all ;
 So, in a common-wealth, or realm,
 The government is call'd the *helm* ; 1600

the hieroglyphick of a bee, dispensing honey to the good and virtuous, and having a sting for the wicked and dissolute."

Ibid. " The Egyptians in their hieroglyphics decyphered a prince by a bee ; now a bee, you know, does carry not only his militia or defence, but his whole politic interest, in his tail ; for when he has lost his sting, he is presently banished that well-ordered government, as an unprofitable member and a drone." *A Speech in the Rota, Butler's Genuine Remains.* (ED.)

v. 1591, 1592. *Because these subtle animals—Bear all their int'rests in their tails*]

Ignavum fucos pecus a praecepibus arcent.

Virgilii Georgic. lib. 4. 168.

All, with united force, combine to drive

The lazy drones from the laborious hive.

Mr. Dryden.

Virgil observes of them (*Georgic. lib. 4. 236, 237, 238.*) that they instantly die upon the loss of their stings.

Illis ira modum supra est, lætaque venenum

Morsibus inspirant, & spicula cæca relinquunt

Affixæ venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.

Prone to revenge, the bees, a wrathful race,

When once provok'd, assault th' aggressor's face ;

And through the purple veins a passage find,

There fix their stings, and leave their souls behind.

Mr. Dryden.

With which, like vessels under sail,
 They're turn'd and winded by the tail,
 The tail, which birds and fishes steer
 Their courses with, through sea and air :
 To whom the rudder of the *rump*, is 1605
 The same thing with the stern, and compass.
 This shews how perfectly the *rump*
 And commonwealth in nature jump.
 For as a fly that goes to bed,
 Rests with his tail above his head ; 1610
 So, in this mongrel state of ours,
 The rabble are the supreme powers ;
 That hors'd us on their backs, to show us
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us.
 The learned rabbins of the Jews 1615
 Write there's a bone, which they call *Luez*,

See *Æsop's Fable of Jupiter and the Bee*. *L'Estrange's Fables*, part 1, fab. 125. *Moufeti Insectorum Theatr.* p. 9.

v. 1606. ————— and compass] The compass or magnetic needle, first found out in Europe, by John, or Flavio Gioia, of the city Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples. *Lediard's Naval History*, vol. 1, p. 35. *Hearne's System of Universal History*, vol. 1. p. 80, ann. 1302.

v. 1609, 1610. *For as a fly that goes to bed,—Rests with his tail above his head, &c.*] This is literally true.

v. 1615, 1616. *The learned rabbins of the Jews—Write there's a bone, which they call Luez,*] Buxtorf, in *Lexic. Chaldaic. Talmud. & Rabin.* Col. 12, under the word לֵזָז *Luz*, thus writes, *Nomen ossis cujusdam in corpore humano, quod scribunt Hebræi incorruptibile, &c. for which he quotes several Rabinnical authors.* (Mr. Professor Chapelow) “ When Adrianus was bruising of bones, he asked R. Jehoshuang, the son of Hhaninah, and said to him, From what will God at the latter end revive man? He said from *Luz* of the back-bone. (*Luz* is a little bone in the shape of an almond, or hazle nut, standing at the bottom of the back-bone. R. Solomon.) He said to him, Whence dost thou know it?

I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,
 No force in nature can do hurt to ;
 And therefore at the last great day,
 All th' other members shall, they say, 1620
 Spring out of this, as from a seed,
 All sorts of vegetals proceed ;

He answered, Get it me, and I will inform you. Adrianus procured one, and he (R. Jehoshuang) endeavoured to grind it in a mill, but it would not grind—he endeavoured to burn it in a fire, but it would not burn—he put it into water, and it was not dissolved—he put it upon a garment and struck it with a hammer, but the garment was rent, and the hammer split, and it (the bone) was not diminished." A translation from *Breshith Rabbath*, sect. 28. By Mr. Israel Lyon. See Dr. Peacock's *Annotations on Porta-Mosis*, p. 169. Dr. Twells's edition.

Mohammed taught his followers something to this purpose. (See *Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, p. 79.)

Ibid. See a further allusion to this illustrious bone, in *A Speech made at the Rota, Butler's Genuine Remains*, vol. 1. (Ed.)

v. 1621, 1622. ——— as from a seed—All sorts of vegetals proceed] The learned Mr. John Gregory, of Oxford, in his *Sermon upon the Resurrection*, (*Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture*, 1684, p. 70) where he is proving the resurrection of the same body, informs us, "That a learned chemist, who spent much time in the contemplation of tinctures, and the impression of vegetables, to prove the great principle of salt, made this experiment. He took several herbs and plants, and calcined them to ashes ; he put up the ashes into several glasses sealed hermetically, and written upon with the several names of the calcined herbs. When he would shew the experiment, he applied a soft flame to the glasses, where forthwith he might perceive the self-same herbs rising up by little and little out of the ashes, every one in his proper form ; and the flame subtracted, they would return to their chaos again."

Philip Skippon, esq. in his *Journey through Part of the Low Countries*, &c. (*Churchill's Collections*, vol. 6, p. 717) makes mention of one Baldasti, a chemist, who bragged, "That he could discover the name of any plant, only by seeing the *fixed salt* of it. If four thousand were

From whence the learned sons of art,
Os Sacrum, justly stile that part.
 Then what can better represent, 1625
 Than this *rump* bone, the Parliament;
 That, after several rude ejections,
 And as prodigious resurrections,
 With new reversions of nine lives,
 Starts up and, like a cat, revives? 1630

brought one after another, he could distinguish them. That he had an universal liquor, that would produce any plant out of it's *fixed salt*." See a curious dissertation, *Tatler*, No. 119.

v. 1626. *Than this rump bone, the Parliament*] See the reason why those few members of the House of Commons, after they had secluded their fellow-members, to make way for the king's trial, were called a *Rump*, or *fag-end* of a Parliament, *Walker's History of Independency*, part 2, p. 32, part 3, p. 35, 75. *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 422. *Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. 2, p. 53. *Lilly's History of his own Life and Times*, p. 84.

*The Rump's an old story, if well understood;
 'Tis a thing dress'd up in a Parliament's hood,
 And like't, but the tail stands where the head shou'd,
 Which nobody can deny.*

*'Twould make a man scratch where it does not itch,
 To see forty fool's heads in one politick breech;
 And that hugging the nation, as the Devil did the Witch, &c.*

A New Year's Gift for the Rump. Collection of *Loyal Songs*, vol. 1, p. 44. See many songs upon *The Rump*, vol. *ibid.* No. 7, 10, &c.

v. 1627. *That, after sev'ral rude ejections, &c.*] The Rump was ejected by Oliver Cromwell and his officers, April, 1653; restored the 6th of May, 1659; turned out again the 13th of October; restored the 26th of December. (See *Foulis's History of the Wicked Plots*, &c. p. 126, 127. *Walker's History of Independency*, part 4, p. 24, 39, 68, 82. *Re-Resurrection of the Rump*, *Loyal Songs*, vol. 2, No. 10.)

But now, alas! they're all expir'd,
 And th' House, as well as Members, fir'd;
 Consum'd in kennels by the rout,
 With which they other fires put out:
 Condemn'd t' ungoverning distress, 1635
 And paltry, private wretchedness;
 Worse than the devil to privation:
 Beyond all hopes of restoration:
 And parted like the body and soul,
 From all dominion and controul. 1640
 We, who cou'd lately with a look,
 Enact, establish, or revoke;
 Whose arbitrary nods gave law,
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe:
 Before the bluster of whose huff, 1645
 All hats, as in a storm, flew off:
 Ador'd and bow'd to by the great,
 Down to the footman and valet:
 Had more bent knees than chapel-mats,
 And prayers, than the crowns of hats: 1650

*Then a pos light on the pitiful Rump,
 That a third time above-board vapours;
 Which Old Nick blew out, but now turns up trump,
 As Joan farted in and out tapers.*

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2, p. 138.

v. 1630. ———— *and, like a cat, revives.*] "Care will kill a cat, and yet a cat is said to have nine lives." *Ray's Proverbial Sentences.*

v. 1655, 1656. *For some of us have scores more large—Than heads and quarters can discharge*] John Taylor, the Water Poet, (*see Re-*

Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly,
 For ruin's just as low, as high ;
 Which might be suffer'd, were it all
 The horror that attends our fall :
 For some of us have scores more large 1655
 Than heads and quarters can discharge ;
 And others, who, by restless scraping,
 With public frauds, and private rapine,
 Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,
 Would gladly lay down all, at last ; 1660
 And to be but undone, entail
 Their vessels on perpetual jail ;

venge, *To William Fenner, Works*, p. 146) has blazoned the arms of such villains as these.

I hope

Thou wilt conclude thy roguery in a rope :
Three trees, two rampant, and the other crossant,
One halter pendant, and a ladder passant,
In a field azure, (clouded like the sky)
Because 'twixt earth and air I hope thou'lt die :
These arms for thee, my muse hath heraldis'd,
And to exalt thee, them she hath devis'd ;
Then, when thou bidd'st the world the last good night,
Squint upward, and say,—Gallows claim thy right.

See song entitled, *A Quarrel betwixt Tower Hill and Tyburn*, *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. 2, No. 2.

v. 1661, 1662. *And to be but undone, entail—Their vessels on perpetual jail :*] See *Sir Roger L'Estrange's Apology*, p. 51. This the Regicides in general would have done gladly, but the ring-leaders of them were executed in *terrorem*. Those that came in upon proclamation, were brought to the bar of the House of Lords, 25th November, 1661, to answer what they could say for themselves, why judgment should not be executed against them ? They severally alledged, " That

And bless the Dev'l to let them farms
Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms.

This said, a near, and louder shout 1665
Put all th' assembly to the rout,
Who now begun t' out-run their fear,
As horses do, from those they bear ;
But crowded on with so much haste,
Until th' had block'd the passage fast, 1670

upon his Majesty's gracious declaration from Breda, and the votes of the Parliament, &c. they did render themselves, being advised, that they should thereby secure their lives ; and humbly craved the benefit of the Proclamation, &c. And Harry Martin briskly added, that he had never obeyed any proclamation before this, and hoped he should not be hanged for taking the King's word now. A bill was brought in for their execution, which was read twice, but afterwards dropt, and so they were all sent to their several prisons, and little more heard of. (*Echard's History of England*, vol. 3, p. 68.) Ludlow and some others escaped by flying among the Swiss Cantons."

Diodorus Siculus observes of the Egyptians, (*Rev. Antiquar.* lib. 4, cap. 1,) that amongst them it was reckoned dishonourable to commute death with banishment. *Commutare mortem exilio, veluti mos est apud Grecos, nefas habetur: Ferunt quendam misso ad se mortis signo, cogitasse ex Æthiopia fugere: Quod presentiens mater, Zona ad filii Collum posita, nequaquam manibus reniti ausum; ne suis dedecori esset, strangulasse.*

v. 1665, 1666. *This said, a near, and louder shout—Put all th' assembly to the rout*] When Sir Martin came to this cabal, he left the rabble at Temple Bar ; but by the time he had concluded his discourse, they were advanced near Whitehall and Westminster. This alarmed our caballers, and perhaps terrified them with the apprehension of being hanged or burned in reality, as some of them that very instant were in effy. No wonder, therefore, they broke up so precipitately, and that each endeavoured to secure himself. The manner of it is described with a poetical licence, only to embellish this canto with a diverting catastrophe. (Mr. B.)

And barricadoed it with haunches
 Of outward men, and bulks, and paunches,
 That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,
 And rather save a crippled piece
 Of all their crush'd and broken members, 1675
 Than have them grillied on the embers ;
 Still pressing on with heavy packs,
 Of one another, on their backs ;
 The van-guard could no longer bear
 The charges of the forlorn rear, 1680
 But, borne down headlong by the rout,
 Were trampled sorely under foot ;

v. 1671. *And barricadoed it with haunches, &c.*] See a merry description of a fat man in a crowd, *Preface to a Tale of a Tub*, p. 21. *Dr. Swift's Intelligencer*, No. 13, p. 143.

v. 1689, 1690. *And beat a Tuscan running-horse—Whose jockey-rider is all spurs.*] My worthy friend, the Reverend Mr. William Smith, rector of St. Mary's in the town of Bedford, communicated the following note upon these two lines.

The anniversary of the Pope's coronation is celebrated at Rome with universal festivity ; and concludes at night with a costly and extraordinary fire-work, which is played off from the top of the castle of Saint Angelo, and distributes rockets in the air all around in various forms of crowns, sceptres, &c. in a most surprising manner. Amongst the other diversions of the day, is a horse-race in one of the longest streets of the city, to which resort a vast number of well-dressed gentlemen and fine ladies ; particularly, the Cardinal Protector for the English nation does then hire a house for the day in that street, where he entertains such of our countrymen as will favour him with their company, with an elegant regale of rich wines, and all sorts of sweetmeats, &c. and from the windows of the balconies, they (and indeed all other persons of quality and distinction) have the pleasure of seeing the race, which is performed in the following manner :

Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,
As th' horrid cookery of the rabble ;
And fear, that keeps all feeling out, 1685
As lesser pains are by the gout,

The horses (without being saddled) are placed exactly all together abreast, and so held by the bridle. There is a girth goes round each of their bodies, to which upon the top of their backs is fastened a thin plate of polished steel, about two inches in breadth and a foot long, in the shape of an arch, which is so pliable, as to rise up and fall down again towards the hinder part of the horse, at his least motion : at the extremity whereof hangs a bunch of very sharp spurs ; these spurs are held up from touching the horse by a groom, who upon the signal for starting, lets them fall down and prick his back : upon which all the horses immediately start, and the faster they run the faster do the spurs prick them.

There are persons at the end of the race ready to lift up the spurs, take them off from the girths, and lead the horses home by the bridle.

I suppose Tuscany breeds the best Italian race horses, which induced Mr. Butler to use the term of *Tuscan horse* ; and this seems to be confirmed by Sir William Davenant, who speaking of Gartha, one of his heroines, (*Gondibert*, part 2, canto 2, st. 82. p. 384) says,

*To Brescia's camp her course she had design'd,
And bids her Tuscan charioteer drive on,
As if his steeds were dieted with wind !
Slow seems their speed whose thoughts before them run.*

The Reverend Dr. Dighton, of Newmarket (as I am informed by the Reverend Mr. Smith, of Harleston) has the picture of one of these horses ; there is a line full of spurs reaching from mane to tail.

The horse race in the street Del Corso, at Rome, during the time of the Carnival, is performed much in the same manner, with barbs, instead of Tuscan horses.

A. de la Motraye, (see *Travels*, vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 58.) observes, " that two bags stuffed with straw, one on the top of the other, in the top of a wallet, with little pointed wires, like the bristles of a hedgehog, are tied on the horse's back, and hang down upon his flanks ; then

Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply
Of rallied force, enough to fly,
And beat a Tuscan running-horse,
Whose jockey-rider is all spurs. 1690

they whip two or three of them together, and so let them go : and the motion of their running stirring the bristles, and (as it were) spurring them, increases their speed." See likewise *Baron Polnitz's Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 64.



HUDIBRAS.

PART III. CANTO III.

VOL. III.

K

ARGUMENT.

*The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night :
He plods to turn his amorous suit,
T' a plea in law, and prosecute :
Repairs to Counsel, to advise
'Bout managing the enterprise ;
But first resolves to try by letter,
And one more fair address, to get her.*

HUDIBRAS.



CANTO III.

WHO wou'd believe what strange bugbears
Mankind creates itself of fears,
That spring, like fern, that insect weed,
Equivocally, without seed?

Our poet now resumes his principal subject; and the reason why he is so full in the recapitulation of the last adventure of our Knight and Squire is, because we had lost sight of our heroes for the space of the longest canto in the whole poem. This respite might probably occasion forgetfulness in some readers, whose attention had been so long suspended; it was therefore necessary, that a repetition should be made of the dark adventure, and that it should be made clear and intelligible to the reader. (Mr. B.)

v. 3, 4. *That spring, like fern, that insect weed,—Equivocally, without seed*] Pliny affirms the same of two sorts of fern. (*Hist. Nat.* lib. 27, cap. 9.) *Filicis duo genera nec florem habent, nec semen.*

And have no possible foundation, 5
 But merely in th' imagination?
 And yet can do more dreadful feats
 Than hags, with all their imps and teats;
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,
 Than all their nurseries of elves. 10
 For fear does things so like a witch,
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which;
 Sets up communities of senses,
 To chop and change intelligences;

Shakespear seems to banter this opinion. (*First Part of Henry IVth*, act 2, vol. 3, p. 368.)

Gadshill, to the *Chamberlain*: "We steal as in a castle, cock-sure; we have the receipt of *fern seed*—we walk invisible."

Ibid. He is like fern, that vile unuseful weed,
 That springs equivocally without seed.

Butler's Genuine Remains, vol. 2. (ED.)

Dr. Derham (*Physico-Theology*, book 10, p. 410, 7th edit.) disproves this opinion. *Filicem, reliquasque capillares herbas semine carere veteres plerique—prodidere: Quos etiam secuti sunt à recentioribus nonnulli, Dodonæus, &c.—Alii à contra, Bauhinus, &c. Filices, et congenere, spermatophoras esse contendunt: Partim, quia historia creationis, Gen. ii. 12, &c. verissimam esse Autopsia convincit.*

Fredericus Cæsius, he saith, was the first that discovered these seeds, by the help of a microscope; and since him Mr. W. C. (Will. Cole) hath more critically observed them. See more, p. 410, 414.

v. 8. *Than hags, with all their imps and teats*] Alluding to the vulgar opinion, that witches have their imps, or familiar spirits, that are employed in their diabolical practices, and suck private teats they have about them.

v. 10. *Than all their nurseries of elves*] A sneer upon the tales of fairies told to children in the nursery.

v. 15. *As Rosicrucian virtuosos, &c.*] The Rosicrucians were a sect that appeared in Germany, in the beginning of the seventeenth age. They are also called the *Enlightened, Immortal, and Invisible*; they are a very enthusiastical sort of men, and hold many wild and extravagant opinions. The Rosicrucian Philosophers held a millennium. Vid. *Jo. Gerhardi Loc. Theologic.* tom. 9, col. 331.

As Rosicrucian virtuosos, 15
Can see with ears, and hear with noses ;
And when they neither see nor hear ;
Have more than both supply'd by fear ;
That makes 'em in the dark see visions,
And hag themselves with apparitions ; 20
And when their eyes discover least,
Discern the subtlest objects best :
Do things not contrary, alone,
To th' course of nature, but its own ;
The courage of the bravest daunt, 25
And turn poltroons as valiant :
For men as resolute appear,
With too much, as too little fear ;
And when they're out of hopes of flying,
Will run away from death by dying : 30

v. 15, 16. *As Rosicrucian virtuosos*—*Can see with ears, and hear with noses*] The Marquis of Worcester, in his *Century of Inventions*, has the following, among other notable discoveries : “ How to write by the smell, the touch, or the taste, as distinctly and unconfusedly—yea, as readily, as by the sight.” Sir Kenelm Digby tells a story of a Spanish nobleman, who “ could hear by his eyes, and see words.” (*Treatise of the Nature of Bodies*.) “ They have built a philosophical hospital for the relief of those that are blind, deaf, and dumb, by establishing a community of the senses, whereby any one may supply the place of another in his absence, and do his business for him as well as that which is out of the way. This is an art to teach men to see with their ears, and hear with their eyes and noses ; and it has been found true by experience and demonstration, if we may believe the history of the Spaniard, that could see words, and swallow music by holding the peg of a fiddle between his teeth ; or him that could sing his part backward at first sight, which those that were near him might hear with their noses.”—*Butler's Character of an Hermetic Philosopher, Genuine Remains*, vol. 2. (Ed.)

Or turn again to stand it out,
And those they fled, like lions, rout.

This Hudibras had prov'd too true,
Who, by the furies, left perdue,
And haunted with detachments, sent 35
From Marshal Legion's regiment,
Was by a fiend, as counterfeit,
Reliev'd and rescued with a cheat ;
When nothing but himself and fear,
Was both the imps and conjurer : 40
As, by the rules o' th' virtuosi,
It follows in due form of poesie.

Disguis'd in all the masks of night,
We left our champion on his flight,
At blindman's buff, to grope his way, 45
In equal fear of night and day :
Who took his dark and desp'rate course,
He knew no better than his horse ;
And by an unknown devil led,
(He knew as little whither) fled. 50
He never was in greater need,
Nor less capacity of speed ;

v. 36. *From Marshal Legion's regiment.*] Alluding to Stephen Marshal's bellowing out treason from the pulpit, in order to recruit the army of the rebels. He was called *The Geneva Bull*.

*Or roar, like Marshal, that Geneva Bull,
Hell and damnation a pulpit full.*

Cleveland's Rebel Scot, Works, 1677, p. 49.

And Dr. Bruno Ryves (*Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155,) calls him the *Arch Flamen* of the rebels. See a further account of him, *Walker's History of Independency*, part 1, p. 79, 80.

Disabled, both in man and beast,
 To fly and run away, his best ;
 To keep the enemy, and fear, 55
 From equal falling on his rear.
 And though with kicks and bangs he ply'd
 The further, and the nearer side :
 (As seamen ride with all their force,
 And tug as if they *row'd* the horse ; 60
 And when the hackney sails most swift,
 Believe they *lag*, or *run-a-drift*)
 So though he posted e'er so fast,
 His fear was greater than his haste :
 For fear, though fleeter than the wind, 65
 Believes 'tis always left behind.
 But when the morn began t' appear,
 And shift t' another scene his fear,

v. 59, 60. *As seamen ride with all their force,—And tug as if they row'd the horse*] John Taylor, the Water Poet, (in his tract, entitled, *A Navy of Land Ships*, p. 87) banters the seamen as bad horsemen. He observes, “ that mariners are commonly the worst horsemen—as one of them being upon a tired hackney, his companions prayed him to ride faster, he said, he was *becalm'd*. Another mounted upon a foundered jade, that stumbled three or four times headlong ; the sailor imagined that his horse was *too much laden a-head*, or *forward on*, (as the sea phrase is) and therefore to ballast him, that he might go, or sail with an even keel, he alighted, and filled his jerkin sleeves full of stones, and tied them fast to his horse's crupper, supposing thereby to make his *stern* as deep laden as his *head*, to avoid stumbling.”

v. 67. *But when the morn began t' appear*] I have before observed, that we may trace our heroes, morning and night. This particular is always essential in poetry, to avoid confusion, and disputes among the critics. How would they have calculated the number of days taken up in the *Iliad*, *Æneid*, and *Paradise Lost*, if the poets had not been careful to lead them into the momentous discovery? Mr. Butler is as clear in this point as any of them ; for from the opening of these adventures, every

He found his new officious shade,
 That came so timely to his aid, 70
 And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,
 Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,
 So like in person, garb, and pitch,
 'Twas hard t' interpret which was which.
 For Ralpho had no sooner told 75
 The Lady all he had t' unfold,
 But she convey'd him out of sight,
 To entertain th' approaching Knight :
 And while he gave himself diversion,
 T' accommodate his beast and person, 80
 And put his beard into a posture
 At best advantage to accost her ;
 She order'd th' anti-masquerade
 (For his reception) aforesaid :
 But when the ceremony was done, 85
 The lights put out, and furies gone ;
 And Hudibras, among the rest,
 Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd ;

morning and night have been poetically described, and now we are arrived at the third day. (Mr. B.)

v. 77. *But she convoy'd him, &c.*] First edit. 1678 ; altered 1684, to *conveyed*.

v. 87, 88. *And Hudibras, among the rest — Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd, &c.*] Ralpho's lamentation, in Canto I. of this Part, appears evidently intended for his master's hearing ; and the allusion to the conflict with the conjurer, in which Ralpho had no share, would be absurd on any other supposition ; yet in this Canto we are told that he was venting his sorrows in soliloquy. It is difficult to account for this contradiction, unless we suppose that our author, like Bayes in *The Rehearsal*, thought that a plot was good for nothing but to bring in good

The wretched caitiff all alone,
(As he believ'd) began to moan, 90
And tell his story to himself;
The Knight mistook him for an elf;
And did so still, till he began
To scruple at Ralph's outward man:
And thought, because they oft agreed, 95
T' appear in one another's stead,
And act the saint's and devil's part,
With undistinguishable art;
They might have done so now, perhaps,
And put on one another's shapes; 100
And therefore, to resolve the doubt,
He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,——
What art? My Squire, or that bold sprite
That took his place and shape to-night?

things, and consequently troubled himself very little about the consistency of his story. (Ed.)

v. 103, 104. *What art? My Squire, or that bold sprite—That took his place and shape to-night?*] Here is an amazing discovery opened; the Knight's dreadful apprehensions vanish with the night: no sooner does the day break, but with joy he perceives his mistake; he finds Ralpho in his company, instead of an elf or ghost; upon this he is agreeably surprised, as he was before terribly affrighted. But let us examine whether this meeting, and the reconciliation that follows it, are naturally brought about; since the day before they had mutually resolved to abandon each other. I think he hath judiciously formed this incident; for it is plain, the Knight and the Squire were conscious they had wronged one another—the one by his base intentions, and the other by his treachery, and gross imposition: but very fortunately they were ignorant of each other's designs; and consequently, each thought himself the offender: it is therefore natural and probable, that they should easily come to a good understanding. The Knight compounds with the Squire for his imposition as a ghost, not only from a sense of his own base intentions, but for the happy escape from witches, spirits, and

Some busy Independent pug, 105
Retainer to his synagogue ?

Alas ! (quoth he,) I'm none of those
Your bosom friends, as you suppose ;
But Ralph himself, your trusty 'Squire,
Wh' has dragg'd your Dunship out o' th' mire 110
And from th' enchantments of a Widow.
Wh' had turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you,
And, though a prisoner of war,
Have brought you safe, where now you are ;
Which you would gratefully repay, 115
Your constant Presbyterian way.
That's stranger (quoth the Knight) and stranger,
Who gave thee notice of my danger ?
Quoth he,—Th' infernal conjurer
Pursued, and took me prisoner ; 120
And knowing you were hereabout,
Brought me along to find you out,
Where I, in hugger-mugger hid,
Have noted all they said or did :

elves, from which the Squire pretends to have freed him. On the other hand, the Squire is willing to re-enter into the Knight's service, and to attend him once more in his peregrinations, when he found this sham meritorious action had deluded him into a suspension of that resentment which he might justly have exerted. Thus are they fortunately reconciled, and thus are these momentous adventures continued, to the satisfaction of the reader, and applause of the poet. (Mr. B.)

v. 110. — *Dunship*] In all editions to 1710. *Donship* in later editions.

v. 132. *And that she-devil, Jezabel*] See the *Spectator's* description of a *Jezabel*, No. 175.

And though they lay to him the pageant, 125
I did not see him, nor his agent ;
Who play'd their sorceries out of sight,
T' avoid a fiercer, second fight.—

But didst thou see no devils then ?—
Not one (quoth he) but carnal men, 130
A little worse than fiends in hell,
And that she-devil Jezabel ;
That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision,
To see them take your deposition.

What then (quoth Hudibras) was he, 135
That play'd the Dev'l t' examine me ?——

A rallying weaver in the town,
That did it in a parson's gown :
Whom all the parish takes for gifted,
But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it : 140
In which you told them all your feats,
Your conscientious frauds and cheats ;
Deny'd your whipping, and confess'd
The naked truth of all the rest,
More plainly than *the Rev'rend Writer*, 145
That to our churches veil'd his mitre.

v. 137. *A rallying weaver in the town*] See *Fable of the Lion and the Fox*, *Butler's Spurious Remains*.

v. 145, 146. ——— *the Rev'rend Writer*,—*That to our churches veil'd his mitre*] Though there were more than one in those times that this character would have suited, yet it is probable that Mr. George Graham, Bishop of Orkney, is sneered at in this place by Mr. Butler. He was so base as to renounce and abjure episcopacy, signing the abjuration with his own hand, at Breckness, in Strones, Feb. 11, 1639. (See *Mr. Gordon's History of the illustrious Family of Gordon*, vol. 2, p. 315.) To this remarkable incident Bishop Hall alludes, (*Epistle Dedi-*

All which they took in black and white,
And cudgel'd me to under-write.

What made thee, when they all were gone,
And none, but thou and I alone, 150
To act the Devil, and forbear
To rid me of my hellish fear?

Quoth he,—I knew your constant rate,
And frame of sp'rit, too obstinate,
To be by me prevail'd upon, 155
With any motives of my own:

catory prefixed to his *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, &c. 1640, p. 1) where he observes, "That he craved pardon for having accepted his episcopal function, as if he had thereby committed some heinous offence. Upon which he uses the following exclamation: (*Episcopacy*, &c. p. 1.) "Good God! what is this that I have lived to bear? That a Bishop in a christian assembly should renounce his episcopal function, and cry mercy for his now abandoned calling." See *Rushworth's Collections*, vol. 3, last edit. p. 957. *Nelson's Collections*, vol. 1, p. 252.

There was another Scotchman, Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala in Ireland, who was deprived of his bishoprick, for speaking in favour of the rebellious Scotch Covenanters, but was promoted to the see of Waterford after the Earl of Strafford's death. (*Carte's History of the Life of James, the first Duke of Ormond*, vol. 1, p. 95, 193.)

The writer of the printed notes insinuates, that the Archbishop of York is here intended, but he is certainly mistaken; for Archbishop Williams was as much hated by the fanatics of those times, as any one of his order. In a libel, entitled, *The Character of an Oxford Incendiary*, p. 4, he is treated in the following indecent manner: "And now we talk of preferment, enter Owen Glendour on horseback, Brute's cousin-german, and top of his kindred, *Welsh Williams*, Prelate of York. This is the pepper-nosed Caliph, that snuffs, puffs, and huffs ingratitude to the Parliament, though they freed him from prison, and put his adversary in his room; tell him of a reformation, and you transform him into a turkey-cock—a Jack of Lent, made of a leek and red herring, will not more inflame him, than the name of Presbytery."

And I find in an original letter in Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, from Sir William Brereton to the Speaker, a complaint against the Arch-

And therefore strove to counterfeit
 The Devil a-while, to nick your wit ;
 The Devil, that is your constant crony,
 That only can prevail upon ye : 160
 Else we might still have been disputing,
 And they with weighty drubs confuting.

The Knight, who now began to find
 Th' had left the enemy behind,
 And saw no farther harm remain, 165
 But feeble weariness and pain ;

bishop of York, the Bishops of Chester, St. Asaph, and Bangor, for fortifying Conway Castle against the Parliament.

Ibid. Archbishop Williams, though no favourite with the Roundheads, was still less so with the Royalists, if we may judge of their sentiments from the writings of Clarendon and Cleveland.

*Lo here, a general metropolitan,
 An Arch-prelatic Presbyterian ;
 Behold his pious garb, canonic face,
 A zealous episcopo-mastic grace ;
 A fair blue-apron'd priest, a lawn-sleev'd brother—
 One leg a pulpit holds, & tub the other.
 His head i' th' sanctified mould is cast,
 Yet sticks th' abominable mitre fast.
 He still retains the Lordship and the Grace,
 And yet hath got a rev'rend Elder's place.
 Such act must needs be his, who did devise
 By crying altars down, to sacrifice
 To private malice, where you might have seen
 His conscience holocausted to his spleen.
 Unhappy Church ! The viper that did share
 Thy greatest honours, helps to make thee bare,
 And void of all thy dignities and store:—&c.*

*Here York's great Metropolitan is laid,
 Who God's Anointed and his Church betray'd.*

On J. W. A. B. of York, *Cleveland's Works*.

It has been suggested, that that excellent prelate Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, was the *Reverend Writer* alluded to ; and the title

Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,
 Th' had gain'd th' advantage of the day ;
 And by declining of the road,
 They had, by chance, their rear made good ; 170
 He ventur'd to dismiss his fear,
 That parting's wont to rant and tear,
 And give the desperat'st attack
 To danger still behind its back.
 For, having paus'd to recollect, 175
 And on his past success reflect,
 T' examine and consider why,
 And whence, and how he came to fly,
 And when no devil had appear'd,
 What else, it cou'd be said, he fear'd ; 180
 It put him in so fierce a rage,
 He once resolv'd to re-engage ;
 Toss'd like a foot-ball back again,
 With shame, and vengeance, and disdain.
 Quoth he,—It was thy cowardice, 185
 That made me from this leaguer rise ?
 And when I had half reduc'd the place,
 To quit it infamously base.

of one of his publications, *THE NAKED TRUTH, or, The State of the Primitive Church*, coinciding exactly with our author's expressions, adds considerable probability to this supposition. In this work, the distinction of the three orders of the church is denied, and endeavoured to be disproved ; the surplice, bowing to the altar, kneeling at the sacrament, and other ceremonies of the church are condemned—while many of the pleas of non-conformists are strenuously supported. Bishop Croft's pamphlet excited an extraordinary degree of interest at the time Butler was writing his Third Part : it was violently attacked by some of the more orthodox clergy, and was as zealously defended by Andrew Marvell. (Ed.)

Was better cover'd by the new
 Arriv'd detachment, than I knew : 190
 To slight my new acquests, and run
 Victoriously, from battles won.
 And reck'ning all I gain'd or lost,
 To sell them cheaper than they cost ;
 To make me put myself to flight, 195
 And, conqu'ring, run away by night ;
 To drag me out, which th' haughty foe
 Durst never have presum'd to do.
 To mount me in the dark by force,
 Upon the bare ridge of my horse, 200
 Expos'd in *querpo* to their rage,
 Without my arms and equipage ;
 Lest, if they ventur'd to pursue,
 I might th' unequal fight renew :
 And, to preserve thy outward man, 205
 Assum'd my place, and led the van.

All this, (quoth Ralph,) I did, 'tis true,
 Not to preserve myself, but you.
 You, who were damn'd to baser drubs
 Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs, 210
 To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse
 Than managing a wooden-horse:

v. 201. ——— *querpo*] A waistcoat, or close jacket. *En cuerpo* (Spanish) signifies a man without a cloak, or a woman without a veil or a scarf. (ED.)

v. 210. ——— *powd'ring tubs*] See note, l. 980 of the preceding Canto. (ED.)

v. 211. *To mount two-wheel'd carroches*] A cart in which criminals are carried to be hanged. Dr. Baily, in his *Wall Flower*, written in Newgate, and published 1650, p. 60, uses the word *carroach* for coach.

Dragg'd out through straiter holes by th' ears,
Eras'd, or coup'd for perjurers.
Who, though th' attempt had prov'd in vain, 215
Had had no reason to complain ;
But since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome,
To blame the hand that paid your ransom ;
And rescued your obnoxious bones
From unavoidable battoons. 220
The enemy was reforc'd,
And we disabled, and unhors'd,
Disarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,
And no way left but hasty flight,
Which, though as desp'rate in th' attempt, 225
Has giv'n you freedom to condemn 't.
But were our bones in fit condition
To reinforce the expedition,
'Tis now unseasonable, and vain,
To think of falling on again : 230
No martial project to surprize,
Can ever be attempted twice ;
Nor cast design serve afterwards,
As gamesters tear their losing-cards.
Beside, our bangs of man and beast 235
Are fit for nothing now but rest ;
And for a-while will not be able
To rally, and prove serviceable.
And therefore I, with reason, chose
This stratagem, t' amuse our foes : 240
To make an hon'able retreat,
And wave a total sure defeat :

For those that fly may fight again,
Which he can never do that's slain.
Hence timely running's no mean part 245
Of conduct, in the martial art ;

v. 243. *For those that fly may fight again.*] A saying of Demosthenes, who fled from Philip of Macedon, when he obtained a great victory over the Athenians at Cheronæa, a village of Bœotia, and being reproached for it, he made the following answer: 'Αντὶς inquit, δ' φεύγων,—Πάλιν μάχασθαι. *Aulii Gellii Noct. Attic.* lib. 17. 21. See a further account of the cowardice of Demosthenes, *Diodori Siculi Bibliothec.* p. 380. "Be pacified," (says the Curate to Don Quixote, upon one of his misadventures, vol. 1. p. 56.) "Fortune may have yet better success in reserve for you; and they who lose to day, may win to-morrow." Of Demosthenes's opinion was the cowardly soldier, (see *L'Estrange's Fables*, part 2. fab. 59.) "who being tried by a council of war, for cowardice, pleaded for himself, that he did not run away for fear of the enemy; but only to try how long a paltry carcass might last a man with good looking to."

From this saying of Demosthenes, the Italians might probably borrow their following proverb. *Emaglio che si diu, qui fuggi, che qui mori.* "It's better it should be said, here he ran away, than here he was slain." *Select Proverbs. Italian*——London 1707. p. 12.

v. 243, 244. *For those that fly may fight again,—Which he can never do that's slain*] These lines no doubt suggested the proverbial dog-grel so generally and so erroneously ascribed to Butler:

*He that is in battle slain,
Can never rise to fight again;
But he that fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day.*

The following lines are in the *Satyre Menippæe*—a work to which Hudibras has been frequently compared, and to which it bears some resemblance in its design, though none in its execution; the French work being a mixture of verse and prose.

*Souvent celui qui demeure
Est cause de son meschef
Celuy qui fuit de bonne heure
Peut combattre derechef.*

Tom. I. 21. Edit. Ratisbon, 1726.

By which some glorious feats atchieve,
 As citizens, by breaking, thrive ;
 And cannons conquer armies, while
 They seem to draw off and recoil ; 250
 Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,
 To great exploits, as well as safest ;
 That spares th' expence of time and pains,
 And dangerous beating out of brains :
 And in the end prevails as certain 255
 As those that never trust to fortune :
 But make their fear do execution
 Beyond the stoutest resolution ;
 As earthquakes kill without a blow,
 And, only trembling, overthrow. 260
 If th' Ancients crown'd their bravest men,
 That only sav'd a citizen,

The *Satyre Menippée* was written during the time of the *Holy League*, and exposes with much wit the intrigues of those factious chiefs who stirred up a civil war by inflaming the religious intolerance of their countrymen, and deluged France with blood to gratify their own ambition and revenge. Henault observes that the *Satyre Menippée* was perhaps of as much service to Henry IV. as the Battle of Ivry. (ED.)

v. 245, 246. Hence timely running's no mean part—*Of conduct, in the martial art*] See note on P. I. C. III. v. 607, 608, &c. An account of Mark Antony's brave retreat from his Parthian expedition; *Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire*, p. 161.

*A prudent chief not always must display
 His powers in equal ranks and fair array ;
 But with th' occasion, and the place comply,
 Conceal his force, may seem sometimes to fly.
 Those oft are stratagems which errors seem,
 Nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream.*

Pope's Essay on Criticism.

v. 261, 262. *If th' Ancients crown'd their bravest men,—That only sav'd a citizen.*] The *corona civica* was given to any soldier, that had

What victory could e'er be won,
 If ev'ry one would save but one?
 Or fight endanger'd to be lost, 265
 Where all resolve to save the most?
 By this means, when a battle's won,
 The war's as far from being done :
 For those that save themselves, and fly,
 Go halves, at least, i' th' victory ; 270
 And sometime, when the loss is small,
 And danger great, they challenge all ;
 Print new additions to their feats,
 And emendations in gazettes ;

in battle saved the life of a Roman citizen, by killing at the same time an enemy; and though it was composed of no better materials than oaken boughs, yet it was esteemed more honourable than any other crown. Virgil calls it *civilis quercus*, *Æn.* 6. 771, 772.

*Qui juvenes quantas ostentant, aspice, vires !
 Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.*

See an account of the honours conferred on those persons that had merited it, *Antiquity explain'd by Montfaucon*, vol. 4. part 1. chap. 7. p. 106. *Dr. Kennet's Antiquities of Rome*, part 2. chap. 16. *Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero*, vol. 1. quarto edit. p. 47, 48. Vide etiam *Auli Gellii Noct. Attic.* lib. 5. cap. 6. *Reusneri Symbol. Imperator.* class 1. symbol. 27. p. 36.

v. 271. *And sometime, when the loss is small, &c.*] After a battle, the rebels, if they found their loss was small, represented it to the people as a great victory gained, and made bonfires, and appointed a public thanksgiving for it; by which they kept up the spirit of the party. (Dr. B.)

v. 274. *And emendations in gazettes*] I don't remember to have met with any such paper printed in those rebellious times; though there was a paper with that title early in the reign of King James the First; as appears from *John Donne's Verses upon T. Coryat's Crudities*, published 1611.

And when, for furious haste to run, 275
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,
 Have don't with bonfires, and at home
 Made squibs and crackers overcome :
 To set the rabble on a flame,
 And keep their governors from blame, 280
 Disperse the news, the pulpit tells,
 Confirm'd with fire-works, and with bells ;
 And though reduc'd to that extreme,
 They have been forc'd to sing *Te Deum* ;

*Munster did towns, and Gerner authors shew,—
 Mount now to Gallo Belgicus ; appear
 As deep a statesman, as a Gazetteer.*

See likewise R. Riccomontanus's verses upon the *Crudities*.

The *gazettes* began first to be regularly printed in King Charles the Second's time, in the year 1665, the year of the plague : the first number dated November 7, 1665. There is a complete collection of gazettes from that time, to December 30, 1703, in thirteen volumes folio, in Mr. Pepys's library in Magdalen College, Cambridge : in Lord Oxford's Library, a complete set to the year 1739 inclusive, in thirty-four volumes. *Cat. Bibliothec. Harleian.* vol. 2. p. 740. See the etymology *Junii Etymol. Anglican.*

v. 284. *They have been forc'd to sing Te Deum.*] This they frequently did, though beaten. And it was their custom likewise to sing a psalm before an engagement : to which Mr. Cotton (*Virgil Travestie*, b. 4. p. 146.) compares the dismal howlings of Queen Dido's domestics, when they discovered that she had hanged herself.

*Even like unto the dismal yowl,
 When tristful dogs at midnight howl ;
 Or like the dirges that through nose,
 Hum out to daunt their pagan foes,
 When holy Roundheads go to battle,—
 With such a yell did Carthage rattle.*

We know it has been customary in other nations upon an imaginary victory, nay, sometimes a defeat, to sing *Te Deum*. Mahmut ridicules this custom among Christians, in a remarkable manner, and with a seeming justness. " I have been (says he) at a ceremony which I am

Yet, with religious blasphemy, 285
 By flatt'ring heaven with a lie ;
 And for their beating, giving thanks,
 Th' have rais'd recruits, and fill'd their banks ;

willing to see often, to give an account of it in my letters : It is the *Te Deum*, which Christian princes cause to be sung in their churches, on the gaining any considerable advantage over their enemies : which *Te Deum* is a hymn composed by two of their saints, to wit, Ambrose and Austin. When the French beat the Spaniards, they sing the *Te Deum* ; and when these vanquish their enemies, they do the same. These two nations do the duty of the Mussulmen, in destroying one another ; and when this is done, they give God thanks for the evil they have committed." *Turkish Spy*, vol. 1. p. 5.

v. 286. *By flatt'ring heaven with a lie*] There are many instances of this kind upon record. " You mocked God (says the author of a *Letter sent to London, from a Spy at Oxford*—p. 10.) in your publick thanksgivings for your invisible victories, when you were publicly beaten : as at Edge-Hill, when you and the *Saw-pit Lord* (viz. Philip Lord Wharton, who hid himself in a saw-pit) with some others, did make people believe lies, on purpose to gull them of their monies."

v. 287. *And for their beating, giving thanks*] Mr. Walker (*History of Independency*, part 2. p. 175.) gives a remarkable instance of this kind. " Popham (says he) was the man who on the 4th of June, 1649, gave a dismal relation to the high and mighty states at Whitehall, of his ill success in tampering with the governor of Kinsale, (in Ireland) who being honestest than the saints expected, took a sum of money of him to betray the town, and fort, and ships in the road : but when Popham came into the road, to take possession of his new purchase, gave him such a gunpowder welcome, that he lost most of his men landed to take livery and seisin, and divers ships. He was commanded to conceal the ill news, and make a different report to the Plebeians of the Commons House, of his success, &c. (see *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 406. 2d edit.) which occasioned an order the 15th of June, that for this remarkable additional mercy, bestowed upon them, in the prosperous success given to their fleet at sea, upon Thursday next, the day set apart for thanksgiving, their ministers should praise God." " Lord, (says Mr. Walker) since these audacious saints are so thankful to thee for one beating, bestow many more beatings upon them, for they deserve all thy corrections." (See likewise *History of Independency*, first part, p. 86.)

For those who run from th' enemy,
Engage them equally to fly; 290
And when the fight becomes a chase,
Those win the day, that win the race;
And that which would not pass in fights
Has done the feat with easy flights;

*Nay, to th' Almighty's self, they have been bold
To lye; and their blasphemous minister told,
They might say false to God; for if they were
Beaten, he knew't not, for he was not there.
But, God, who their great thankfulness did see,
Rewards them straight with another victory!
Just such a one as Brentford, and sans doubt,
Will weary, er't be long, their gratitude out.*

*But oh! your faith is mighty; that hath been,
As true faith ought to be, of things unseen.
At Worc'ster, Brentford and Edge-hill we see,
Only by faith, y' have got the victory.
Such is your faith, and some such unseen way,
The public faith at last your debts will pay.*

Cowley's Puritan and Papist, p. 1, 2.

See more p. 8.

*At Keinton, Brainsford, Plymouth, York,
And divers places more,
What victories we saints obtain,
The like ne'er seen before:
How often we Prince Rupert kill'd,
And bravely won the day;
The wicked Cavaliers did run
The quite contrary way.*

On Colonel Venn's Encouragement to his Soldiers. Collection of Loyal Songs, republished 1731. vol. 1. No. 42. p. 105.

v. 289, 290. *For those who run from th' enemy,—Engage them equally to fly.*] Of this opinion, probably, was that humourous traveller, who, relating some of his adventures, told the company, that he and his servant made fifty *wild Arabians run* which startling them, he observed, that there was no great matter in it; for (says he) we ran, and they ran after us.

Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign 295
 With bourdeaux, burgundy, and champaign ;
 Restor'd the fainting high and mighty
 With brandy-wine, and *aqua-vitæ*.
 And made 'em stoutly overcome
 With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum : 300
 Whom th' uncontroul'd decrees of fate
 To victory necessitate ;
 With which, although they run or burn,
 They unavoidably return :
 Or else their sultan populaces 305
 Still strangle all their routed Bassas.
 Quoth Hudibras,—I understand
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,
 And who those were that run away,
 And yet gave out th' had won the day : 310

v. 300. *With bacrack*] Or baccharack ; a wine from *Bachiera*, a town on the Rhine, in the Palatinate: whence it has it's name. *Baily*. *Bacrack*. edit. 1684. and following editions.

Ib. ————— *hoccamore*] *Old Hock*. A sort of Rhenish wine, so called from the village of Hockheim on the Maine, opposite to Mentz. *Baily*.

v. 305. *Or else their sultan populaces &c*] * The author compares the arbitrary actings of the ungovernable mob, to the Sultan or Grand Seignior, who very seldom fails to sacrifice any of his chief commanders, called *Bassas*, if they prove unsuccessful in battle." See *Knowles's* and *Sir Paul Rycaut's Histories of the Turks*, and *Mr. Fenton's Observations on some of Waller's Poems*, p. 70.

v. 309, 310. *And who those were that run away,—And yet gave out th' had won the day*] Alluding probably to Sir William Waller's defeat at Roundway Downe: which the soldiers ever after called *Runaway Downe*. Mr. Whitelock makes the rout to be occasioned by a panic fear in the parliament horse ; but Lord Hollis charges it upon the unskilfulness and cowardice of Sir Arthur Hazlerig. It gave occasion for

Although the rabble sous'd them for 't,
 O'er head and ears in mud and dirt.
 'Tis true, our modern way of war
 Is grown more politick by far,
 But not so resolute, and bold, 315
 Nor ty'd to honour, as the old.

much rejoicing, and pleasant raillery among the Cavaliers; and Cleveland thus plays upon both those commanders: (*Character of a London Diurnal*.) "This is the William, who is the City's champion and the Diurnal's delight. Yet in all this triumph there is a whip and a bell—translate but the scene to Roundway Downe, there *Hazlerig's lobsters* (see reason why so called, *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2, p. 418:) turned crabs, and crawled backwards; there poor Sir William ran to his Lady for an use of consolation."

*Sir William at Runaway Downe had a bout,
 Which him and his lobsters did totally rout,
 And his Lady the Conqueror could not help him out,
 Which nobody can deny.*

The Rump Carbonadoed, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2. No. 26.

Mr. Whitelock says (*Memorials*, p. 70.) that Waller posted up to London, and by his presence silenced invectives against him.

And the author of the *Letter from a Spy at Oxford*, p. 8, speaking of Sir William Waller, at *Runaway Downe*, or *Roundhead Downe*—(as he calls it) says, "Brave William had a beating with a witness, being totally routed by Prince Maurice and Sir John Byron. (And this was the twelfth conquest, which made up the conqueror's brown dozen in number, compared to the twelve labours of Hercules.)—For these great victories, so happily gained by this old beaten conquering commander, he was pompously received into London, with little less than a Roman triumph, on Tuesday the 25th of July: the Lord Mayor's Show was nothing to it: there wanted nothing but the *galley-foist*, and then all had been near complete. The People swarmed about him like caterpillars: every one glutted their eyes in gazing on this conquered Agamemnon: and a thousand voices cried, *A Waller, A Waller!*" Upon which he remarks, p. 10. "Thus you mocked God, the King, and the people, and by this means you have caused pagan and heathen idolatry to be committed. First, to Bacchus there hath been offered

For now they laugh at giving battle,
 Unless it be to herds of cattle ;
 Or fighting convoys of provision,
 The whole design o' th' expedition ; 320
 And not with downright blows to rout
 The enemy, but eat them out ;
 As fighting, in all beasts of prey,
 And eating, are perform'd one way ;
 To give defiance to their teeth, 325
 And fight their stubborn guts to death ;
 And those atchieve the high'st renown,
 That bring the other stomachs down.
 There's now no fear of wounds, nor maiming,
 All dangers are reduc'd to famine ; 330
 And feats of arms, to plot, design,
 Surprise, and stratagem, and mine :
 But have no need, nor use of courage,
 Unless it be for glory, or forage :
 For if they fight, 'tis but by chance, 335
 When one side vent'ring to advance,
 And come uncivilly too near,
 Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear ;
 And forc'd, with terrible resistance,
 To keep hereafter at a distance, 340
 To pick out ground t' encamp upon,
 Where store of largest rivers run,

hundreds of hecatombs of health, and carouses : and, secondly, your
 burnt-sacrifices to Vulcan, have been innumerably blazed in bonfires,
 fire and faggots, guns, flame, pipe, and smoke."

v. 328.———*the other's stomachs.*] Edit. 1700, and following
 ones.

That serve instead of peaceful barriers,
 To part th' engagements of their warriors;
 Where both from side to side may skip, 345
 And only encounter at bo-peep:
 For men are found the stouter-hearted,
 The certainer th' are to be parted;
 And therefore post themselves in bogs,
 As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs; 350
 And made their mortal enemy,
 The *water-rat*, their strict ally.
 For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold?
 But who bears hunger best, and cold?
 And he's approv'd the most deserving, 355
 Who longest can hold out at starving:

v. 347, 348. *For men are found the stouter-hearted,—The certainer th' are to be parted*] See *Montaigne's Essays*, vol. 2. chap. 2. b. 16. p. 450, &c. *Spectator*, No. 131.

v. 350. *As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs*] * Homer wrote a poem of the war between the mice and the frogs."

v. 351, 352. *And made their mortal enemy,—The water-rat, their strict ally*] Meaning the Dutch, who seemed to favour the Parliamentarians. (Mr. W.)

v. 355, 356. *And he's approv'd the most deserving,—Who longest can hold out at starving*] An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week towards the charge of the army. Remarkable was the case of Cecily de Rygeway, indicted in the 31st of Edward the Third, A. D. 1347, for the murder of her husband; who refusing to plead, was adjudged at last to fast forty days together in close prison, without meat or drink; which she did. See the record in proof, *History of the most remarkable Trials of Great Britain, in Capital Cases*, published 1705. p. 52, 53. Dr. Plot (*History of Staffordshire*, chap. 8. sect. 47, 48.) has given this with two other remarkable instances of this kind; namely, of William Francis, who wilfully fasted fourteen days, being melancholy mad; and of John Scot, a Scotchman, who abstained from meat thirty or forty days. Others have carried this point much further, and their accounts greatly exceed belief.

But he that routs most pigs and cows,
 The formidablest man of prow'ss.
 So th' Emperor Caligula,
 That triumph'd o'er the British sea, 360
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners,
 And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers ;
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles,
 With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles ;
 And led his troops with furious gallops, 365
 To charge whole regiments of scallops ;
 Not like their ancient way of war,
 To wait on his triumphal car :
 But when he went to dine or sup,
 More bravely eat his captives up ; 370

Picus Mirandula mentions (from Roger Bacon) two English women : one who fasted twenty years, and the other forty. (*Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ de Rer. prænotione*, lib. 3. to. 2. *Op. Basileæ.*) See more instances, *Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandulæ Exam. de Doctrin. Vanitat. Gentium*, lib. 2. to. 2. p. 565. *Ægidii Menagii Observat. in Diogen. Laert.* lib. 2. segm. 143. See the *Life of Martha Taylor, who lived one Year without the Use of Meat or Drink*, 8vo, 1669. *Catalog. Bibliothec. Harleian.* vol. 2. p. 596. No. 9763. And *Reynolds's Discourse upon the prodigious Abstinence occasioned by the twelve Months fasting of Martha Taylor, the famous Derbyshire Damosel*, 1669. *Id. Ib.* p. 918. No. 14223. *Derham's Physico-Theology*, book 4. chap. 11. p. 211. 212. 7th edit. An account of a woman who had lain six days covered with snow, without receiving any nourishment, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 28. for the Year 1713. p. 265, &c. And a *Copy of an Affidavit made in Scotland*, concerning a boy's living a considerable time without food, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 31. num. 361. p. 29.

v. 359. *So th' Emperor Caligula*] See an account of this famous expedition in *Suetonius; Caligul.* lib. 4. cap. 46. *Echard's Roman History*, vol. 2. p. 98, 99. *Rapin's History of England*, translated by Mr. Tindal; folio edit. vol. 1. p. 12.

And left all war, by his example,
 Reduc'd to vittling of a camp well.

Quoth Ralph,—By all that you have said,
 And twice as much that I cou'd add,
 'Tis plain, you cannot now do worse, 375
 Than take this out-of-fashion'd course;
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her,
 Or waging battle to subdue her :
 Though some have done it in romances,
 And bang'd them into am'rous fancies ; 380
 As those who won the Amazons,
 By wanton drubbing of their bones :

v. 369, 370. *But when he went to dine or sup,—More bravely eat his captives up*] The courage of many of the heroes of those times consisted in their teeth. Sir William Brereton, the famous Cheshire knight, is thus characterized by Mr. Cleveland, (*Character of a London Diurnal, Works* 1677. p. 118.) “ Was Brereton (says he) to fight with his teeth, (as in all other things he resembles the beast,) he would have odds of any man at the weapon. Oh ! he's a terrible slaughter-man at a thanksgiving dinner. Had he been cannibal to have eaten those that he vanquished, his gut would have made him valiant.”

*Will Brereton's a sinner,
 And Croyden knows a winner ;
 But O take heed lest he do eat
 The Rump all at one dinner.*

Loyal Songs, vol. 2. p. 55.

See a further character of him, *Mr. Corte's Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. 1. p. 471. *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 4th vol. of the History of the Puritans*, p. 45.

*A Man of stomach of the next deal
 Was hungry Colonel Cobbet,
 Who would eat at one meal
 A commonwealth,
 And make a joint but a gobbet.*

Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. 2. p. 157.

And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride,
 By courting of her back and side.
 But since those times and feats are over, 385
 They are not for a modern lover ;
 When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,
 By such addresses to be gain'd :
 And if they were, wou'd have it out,
 With many another kind of bout. 390
 Therefore I hold no course s' infeasible,
 As this of force to win the Jezebel ;

v. 383, 384. *And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride,—By courting of her back and side*] * A story in Tasso, an Italian poet, of a hero that gained his mistress by conquering her party."

This account is not literally true of Rinaldo, one of the principal heroes concerned in the siege of Jerusalem against the infidel Saracens. Armida, a beautiful queen, was in love with him, and had by magic engaged his affections. But when by the assistance of his friends, he broke loose from her snares, and left her, she vowed revenge, and offered to marry any one of those Pagan princes who came to Aladin's assistance, provided they could take off Rinaldo in battle; though she still retained a secret affection for him. But when he had slain with his own hand all those princes who had rashly undertaken his death, she fled from him with a design of taking away her own life; but he pursued and prevented it; and his love re-kindled, by her heavy complaints against him: and when she had given them vent, in the most moving and passionate terms, he convinced her that his affection for her was as strong as ever; which brought about a reconciliation. (*Fairfax's Godfrey of Bulloigne*, book 20. st. 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136. p. 650, 651, 652. See *Mr. Fenton's Waller*, 1729. p. 278. *Observations*, p. 83. *Spectator*, No. 14.)

This suits as well with what Shakespear mentions of Theseus and Hippolyta (in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, vol. 1. p. 79.) Theseus speaks to Hippolyta in the following manner:

*Hippolyta, I woo'd thee with my sword,
 And won thy love, doing thee injuries;
 But I will wed thee in another key,
 With pomp, with triumph, and with revelling.*

To storm her heart, by th' antique charms
 Of ladies errant, force of arms;
 But rather strive by law to win her, 395
 And try the title you have in her.
 Your case is clear, you have her word,
 And me to witness the accord;
 Besides two more of her retinue
 To testify what pass'd between you; 400
 More probable, and like to hold,
 Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold;
 For which so many, that renounc'd
 Their plighted contracts, have been trounc'd;
 And bills upon record been found, 405
 That forc'd the ladies to compound;
 And that, unless I miss the matter,
 Is all the bus'ness you look after:
 Besides, encounters at the Bar,
 Are braver now, than those in war, 410
 In which the law does execution,
 With less disorder and confusion,

v. 401, 402. *More probable, and like to hold,—Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold*] Breaking of gold was formerly much practised; and when done, it was commonly believed, that such a man and woman were made sure to one another; and could marry no other persons; that they had broke a piece of gold between them, which was looked upon to be a firm marriage contract: nothing was thought to bind the contract more firmly, before they were actually married, than this breaking a piece of gold. (Dr. B.)

See an account of Valentine's dividing a gold ring with Clermond, when he took leave of her, before his pilgrimage, *History of Valentine and Orson*, chap. 41. p. 174.

v. 405, 406. *And bills upon record been found,—That forc'd the ladies to compound*] See a remarkable bill of charges, upon a disappointment in courtship, *Guardian*, No. 97.

Has more of honour in 't, some hold,
Not like the new way, but the old;
When those the pen had drawn together, 415
Decided quarrels with the feather,
And winged arrows kill'd as dead,
And more than bullets now of lead:
So all their combats now, as then,
Are manag'd chiefly by the pen; 420
That does the feat, with braver vigours,
In words at length, as well as figures;
Is judge of all the world performs
In voluntary feats of arms;
And whatsoe'er's atchiev'd in fight, 425
Determines which is wrong or right:
For whether you prevail, or lose,
All must be try'd there in the close:
And therefore 'tis not wise to shun
What you must trust to, ere y' have done. 430
The law, that settles all you do,
And marries where you did but woo:
That makes the most perfidious lover,
A lady, that's as false, recover;

“ On promise of marriage, damages may be recovered, if either party refuse to marry; but the promise must be mutual on both sides, to ground the action, 1 *Salk.* 24.—And though no time for marriage be agreed on, if the plaintiff aver that he has offered to marry the woman, and she refused—an action lies against her, and damages are recoverable. If a man and woman make mutual promises of inter-marriage, and the man gives the woman 100*l.* in satisfaction of his promise of marriage, it is a good discharge of the contract. *Mod. Cas.* 156. By *Stat.* 29 *Car.* II. c. 3, no action shall be brought on any agreement or consideration of marriage, except it be put in writing, and signed by the

And if it judge upon your side, 435
 Will soon *extend* her for your bride :
 And put her person, goods, or lands,
 Or which you like best, int' your hands.
 For law's the wisdom of all ages,
 And manag'd by the ablest sages ; 440
 Who, though their bus'ness at the Bar
 Be but a kind of civil war,

party to be charged, &c. And where an agreement relating to marriage must be in writing, and when it need not, *vid. Skinn. 353.*" *Jacob's Law Dictionary.*

v. 436.—*extend her.*] See *Extend*, *Jacob's Law Dictionary.*

v. 441, 442. *Who, though their bus'ness at the bar—Be but a kind of civil war*] This piece of grimace in the gentlemen of the long robe, is sneered by the writer of a Pindaric poem, inscrib'd *To the Society of Beaux Esprits*, p. 7.

*Nor is your time misspent in parchment jar,
 The hellish bustle of the bar,
 Where the loud prattling tribe wage an eternal war ;
 A war, while there—High words are rais'd,
 Their pedigrees, and virtues blas'd ;
 That is the issue of a first rate clown,
 And wore his leather breeches up to town ;
 This is a pimp to causes, such a cheat,
 He'd pawn his soul for a five shillings' treat ;
 That has a conscience steel'd, and this a face of brass,
 And he that looks so gravely is an ass.
 Yet, when they next meet, they agree,
 Who but dear Jack, and Billy, who but he ?
 Consult afresh to raise their clients' strife,
 And make it last as long as life.
 And yet, they know the law was meant
 What's wrongful to redress !
 To free the poor and innocent.*

The *Spectator* observes, (No. 13.) " That nothing is more usual in Westminster-hall, than to see a couple of lawyers, who have been tearing one another to pieces in court, embracing one another as soon as they are out of it." (See *Spectator*, No. 21. *Tatler*, No. 42. *Ben Jonson's Masque of Gipsies*, &c. p. 76.)

In which th' engage with fiercer dudgeons,
 Than e'er the Grecians did, and Trojans ;
 They never manage the contest 445
 T' impair their publick interest ;
 Or by their controversies lessen
 The dignity of their profession :
 Not like us brethren, who divide
 Our common-wealth, the *cause*, and side ; 450
 And though w' are all as near of kindred
 As th' outward man is to the inward ;
 We agree in nothing, but to wrangle
 About the slightest fingle-fangle ;
 While lawyers have more sober sense 455
 Than t' argue at their own expence,
 But make their best advantages
 Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss :

v. 453, 454. *We agree in nothing, but to wrangle—About the slightest fingle-fangle*] The Squire in this speech pays a true and worthy compliment to the professors of the law ; this obvious good understanding among themselves makes them easy ; and the law ought to be held in veneration, because it is not exposed to the censure and judgment of the vulgar, (as other professions mentioned by Ralpho are) by the indiscreet writings of its professors. (See v. 483, &c.) No wonder it is, that the Squire by such fair and undeniable arguments in their favour, persuaded the Knight to apply to a lawyer for advice in his present case, which undoubtedly required relief and satisfaction. (Mr. B.)

v. 458. *Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss*] The Cantons of Switzerland will, upon reasonable terms, allow any Christian Princes to raise soldiers among them ; by which means they are sure to be at peace with all the neighbouring states ; and at the same time make a tolerable provision for great numbers of their people. But one Swiss regiment (as I am told) will not fight with another Swiss regiment, on any consideration. As they are all mustered and exercised every Sunday, so the whole country to a man are ever ready to fight. (Mr. B. of B.) They expect to have their pay regularly ; “ otherwise (says Mr. Moll, *Geography*, p.

And out of foreign controversies,
 By aiding both sides, fill their purses ; 460
 But have no int'rest in the cause
 For which th' engage, and wage the laws ;
 Nor further prospect than their pay,
 Whether they lose or win the day.
 And though th' abounded in all ages, 465
 With sundry learned clerks, and sages ;
 Though all their business be dispute,
 Which way they canvass ev'ry suit ;
 Th' have no disputes about their art,
 Nor in polemicks controvert : 470
 While all professions else are found
 With nothing but disputes t' abound :
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,
 Philosophers, mathematicians ;

234, edit. 1701) they are ready to make good the proverb, *No money, no Swiss.*" *Other quarrels*, edit. 1678, 1684.

v. 475. *The Galenist, and Paracelsian*] Galen was born in the year 130, and lived to the year 200. See a full account of him, *Swiss Lexicon*. vol. 1, p. 465. *Labbei Elog. Chronologic. Fabricii Bibliothec. Græc.* lib. 4, chap. 17. Tom. 3, p. 510, 527. *Chambers's Cyclopædia*.

Paracelsus was born the latter end of the fifteenth, and lived almost to the middle of the sixteenth century. (See *Collier's Dictionary*.) And though I have given a large account of him in a note, on Part 2, Canto 3, v. 627, I beg leave to add the following one, translated from the French, and communicated to me by Miss W. and Miss E——r W. two young ladies, who are endued with all the perfections of their sex ; and admired for their great attainments in polite learning, by all who have the honour of their acquaintance.

Que V. A. S. me permette de luy decrire l'epitaphe, &c.

" Your Serene Highness will permit me to relate to you an epitaph I saw against the wall in the Church at Saltzbourg, of a man much esteemed in Germany, and particularly in this part of it.

The Galenist, and Paracelsian, 475
 Condemn the way each other deals in :
 Anatomists dissect and mangle,
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle ;
 Astrologers dispute their dreams,
 That in their sleeps they talk of schemes : 480

*' Conditur hic, Philippus Theophrastus,
 Insignis Medicinæ Doctor, qui dira illa
 Vulnera, lepram, podagram, hydropisim,
 Aliaque insanabilia corporis contagia
 Mirificâ arte sustulit.*

*Ac bona sua in pauperes distribuenda
 Collocandaque honoravit.*

*Anno MDXLI die XXIV Septemb.
 Vitam cum morte mutavit.'*

This suits but little with what I learnt concerning him in France, where he passes only for a quack, desirous of blinding the world by the extraordinary advantages he promised them.

This impostor promised to every body the secret of making gold, and nevertheless died himself a beggar, and in the hospital of this very Saltzbourg, where the wealth he left to the poor could be of no use, but to add two lines more to his epitaph.

He boasted too, that it was in his power to make the Pope, Luther, and the Turk agree ; he was a wicked man then, for he did not do it : I know no quality he had to facilitate his doing it, but that he had no zeal for any party. In fine, (says he) I have the secret to make a man live to one hundred and fifty, free from diseases ; and he himself died at thirty-seven, loaded with distempers. Nothing of all this persuades me in favour either of his probity or erudition."

Relations Historique de Voyages en Allemagne, &c. par Cha. Patin, M. D. Lyon, 1676. Relation Quatrieme a S. A. Snc. Anthoine Ulric Duc de Brunswic. p. 286.

Dr. Quincy (see *Physical Dictionary*, p. 164) distinguishes between *Galenical* and *chemical* medicines ; and observes, that the *Galenical* run much upon the multiplying of herbs and roots in the same composition, seldom torturing them any other way, than by decoction ; in opposition to *chemical* medicines, which by the force of fire, and a great deal of art, fetch out the virtues of bodies chiefly mineral, into a small

And heralds stickle, who got who,
 So many hundred years ago.
 But lawyers are too wise a nation,
 T' expose their trade to disputation ;
 Or make the busy rabble judges 485
 Of all their secret piques, and grudges ;
 In which whoever wins the day,
 The whole profession's sure to pay :
 Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,
 Dare undertake to do their feats ; 490
 When in all other sciences
 They swarm, like insects, and increase.
 For what bigot durst ever draw,
 By inward light, a *deed in law* ?
 Or could hold forth, by revelation, 495
 An *answer to a declaration* ?
 For those that meddle with their tools,
 Will cut their fingers, if they're fools :
 And if you follow their advice,
 In bills, and answers, and replies ; 500
 They'll write a love-letter in Chancery,
 Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,
 And soon reduce her to b' your wife,
 Or make her weary of her life.
 The Knight, who us'd with tricks and shifts 505
 To edify by Ralpho's gifts,

compass. For an account of chemical preparations, the reader, if he pleases, may consult Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Lemery, Wilson, Dr. Freind, and Boerhaave, who have wrote professedly on that subject.

v. 481. *And heralds stickle, who got who*] See *Spectator*, No. 446.

But in appearance cry'd him down,
 To make them better seem his own,
 (All plagiaries' constant course
 Of sinking, when they take a purse) 510
 Resolv'd to follow his advice,
 But kept it from him by disguise :
 And after stubborn contradiction,
 To counterfeit his own conviction,
 And by transition, fall upon 515
 The resolution, as his own.

Quoth he,—This gambol, thou advisest,
 Is, of all others, the unwiseest ;
 For if I think by law to gain her,
 There's nothing sillier, nor vainer. 520
 'Tis but to hazard my pretence,
 Where nothing's certain, but th' expence ;
 To act against myself, and traverse
 My suit, and title to her favours :
 And if she shou'd, which Heav'n forbid, 525
 O'erthrow me, as the Fiddler did ;
 What after-course have I to take,
 'Gainst losing all I have at stake ?
 He that with injury is griev'd,
 And goes to law, to be reliev'd, 530

v. 507. ——— cry'd him down] Edit. 1678, 1684. Cry'd them down, 1700, and following editions.

v. 508, 510. *All plagiaries' constant course—Of sinking, when they take a purse*] See a *Satyre on Plagiaries*, *Butler's Remains*, vol. 1. (En.)

v. 523, 524. ——— and traverse—*My suit*———] See *traverse*, *Baily*, and *Jacob's Law Dictionary*.

Is sillier than a sottish chouse,
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,
 Applies himself to cunning-men
 To help him to his goods again ;
 When all he can expect to gain, 535
 Is but to squander more in vain :
 And yet I have no other way,
 But is as difficult, to play.
 For to reduce her, by main force,
 Is now in vain ; by fair means, worse : 540
 But worst of all, to give her over,
 'Till she's as desp'rate to recover.
 For bad games are thrown up too soon,
 Until th' are never to be won.
 But since I have no other course 545
 But is as bad t' attempt, or worse ;
 He that complies against his will,
 Is of his own opinion still ;
 Which he may adhere to, yet disown,
 For reasons to himself best known : 550
 But 'tis not to b' avoided now,
 For Sidrophel resolves to sue :
 Whom I must answer, or begin
 Inevitably, first with him.
 For I've receiv'd advertisement 555
 By times enough, of his intent ;

v. 529, 530. *He that with injury is griev'd—And goes to law, to be reliev'd; &c.]*

*“ Who can deserve for breaking of the laws,
 A greater penance than an honest cause ? ”*

Miscellaneous Thoughts, Butler's Remains, vol. 1. (Ed.)

And knowing he that first complains,
Th' advantage of the business gains :
For courts of justice understand
The plaintiff to be eldest hand ; 560
Who what he pleases may aver,
The other, nothing till he swear :
Is freely admitted to all grace,
And lawful favour, by his place :
And for his bringing custom in, 565
Has all advantages to win.
I, who resolve to oversee
No lucky opportunity,
Will go to counsel, to advise
Which way t' encounter, or surprize, 570
And after long consideration,
Have found out one to fit th' occasion ;
Most apt for what I have to do,
As counsellor, and justice too.—
And, truly, so, no doubt, he was, 575
A lawyer fit for such a case.

v. 565. *And for his bringing custom in.*] See *Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fable of the Countryman and the Kid*, (part 1, fab. 350.)

v. 573, 574. *Most apt for what I have to do—As counsellor, and justice too.*] Who this lawyer was, I am really at a loss to understand : the author of the printed notes has pointed out Edmund Prideaux, Esq. as the person intended by Mr. Butler ; but I cannot give in to his opinion : (though his character was not wholly unexceptionable, as appears from several passages in *Mr. Walker's History of Independency*.) His great business in his profession, and the posts that he filled, must take up too much of his time to suffer him to engage in the proper business of a pettifogger. He had been Commissioner of the Great Seal, worth 1500*l.* a year ; and then by an ordinance, practised within the Bar, as one of the King's Counsel, worth 500*l.* per annum. He was afterwards

An old dull sot, wh' had told the clock
 For many years at Bridewell-dock,
 At Westminster, and Hicks's-Hall,
 And *hiccius doctius* play'd in all ; 580

postmaster for all inland letters, worth 100*l.* every Tuesday night; and Attorney General to the Commonwealth of England. (See *History of Independency*, part 1, p. 143, 166, &c. edit. 1661.) And died in 1659, (as Mr. Echard observes, *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 872) worth sixty thousand pounds in gold, in his coffers, as was credibly reported; besides lands of a great value. Mr. Whitelock observes of him, (*Memo-rials*, 2d edit. p. 682) " That he was a generous person, faithful to the Parliament interest, and a good Chancery lawyer." Bishop Tillotson, as I am informed by a worthy gentleman descended from him, lived with him as chaplain; and he was a man much esteemed in Devonshire, where he lived, (namely at Ford Abbey, which he bought of Sir Samuel Rosewell, reputed by some the hero of this poem) for his hospitable and charitable disposition. What room then for fixing this character upon him, rather than upon Glyn or Maynard, who likewise complied with the times?

I have been told that one Siderfin, who lived in those times, and raised considerable fortunes in a low way of practice, has been reputed the lawyer sneered by our poet.

Ibid. ————— and justice too.] As such, whoever he was, he might have deserved the character of John Taylor's *Basket Justice*. See his poem, entitled, *A Brood of Cormorants*, *Works*, p. 7.

Ibid.] Our Author has delineated the same character, and in very nearly the same words, in his *Justice of the Peace, Remains*, vol. 2. (Ed.)

v. 577, 578. *An old dull sot, wh' had told the clock—For many years at Bridewell-dock.*] Alluding probably to his attendance at Bridewell, when petty criminals were whipped, who would not, or could not, commute their whipping for a sum of money.

Dr. Plot (see *History of Staffordshire*, chap. 8, sect. 66, p. 303. see likewise *Spectator*, No. 447.) makes mention of an idiot, who daily amused himself, with always counting the hour of the day whenever the clock struck; and when it was spoiled by accident, the idiot continued to strike, and count the hour without the help of it.

v. 580. — *hiccius doctius* —————] An unintelligible term used by jugglers. See preface to a tract, entitled, *Hocus Pocus, Vulgar*.

Where, in all governments and times,
 H' had been both friend and foe to crimes,
 And us'd two equal ways of gaining,
 By hind'ring justice, or maintaining :
 To many a whore gave privilege, 585
 And whipp'd, for want of quarteridge ;
 Cart-loads of bawds to prison sent,
 For being behind a fortnight's rent :
 And many a trusty pimp and croney
 To Puddle-dock, for want of money : 590
 Engag'd the constable to seize
 All those that would not break the peace ;
 Nor give him back his own foul words,
 Though sometimes commoners, or lords,

vol. 3, No. 21. *Bibliothec. Pepysian*. Such a lawyer as this would certainly have been banished out of Sir Thomas More's Utopian Commonwealth. (See Translation of the Second Book of his *Utopia*, printed 1624, p. 104.) *Hickius Deckius*, edit. 1678, 1684.

v. 584. *By hind'ring justice, or maintaining.*] Judge Bridlegoose's method (see *Rabelais*, book 3, chap. 39, p. 261) seems to have been more equitable, who decided causes and controversies by the chance and fortune of the dice. Or the Russian custom of giving judgment by lot. (See *Dr. Giles Fletcher's Treatise of Russia. Purchase his Pilgrims*, part 3, lib. 3, p. 434.) Or the romantic way of trying causes in some part of the East Indies ; the contending parties putting their bills into the hand of St. Thomas the Apostle. (*Sir John Maundevile's Voyage*, &c. p. 208.)

v. 585. *To many a whore gave privilege.*] Sir Roger L'Estrange observes, (*Reflection upon the Fable of the Crows and Pigeons*, part 1, fab. 386) " That set a kite on the Bench, and 'tis forty to one that he'll bring off a crow at the Bar."

v. 590. *To Puddle-dock* ———] There was a gaol for puny offenders.

v. 595. 596. *And kept 'em prisoners of course—For being sober at ill hours.*] Of this cast were the Constable and Watchman, (see Sir

And kept 'em prisoners of course, 595
 For being sober at ill hours ;
 That in the morning he might free,
 Or bind 'em over, for his fee.
 Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays,
 For leave to practise in their ways ; 600
 Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share
 With th' headborough, and scavenger ;

Richard Steele's comedy, called, *The Lying Lovers*, edit. 1712. p. 57.) upon the rencounter that happened between Lovemore and young Bookwit.

"*Const.* Where, where was this clashing of swords ? So-ho ! So-ho ! You Sir, what are you dead ? Speak, friend, what are you afraid of ? If you are dead, the law can take no hold of you.

Watch. I beg your pardon, Mr. Constable, he ought by the law to be carried to the Roundhouse for being dead at this time of night.

Const. Then away with him you three — and you, gentlemen, follow me to find who killed him."

v. 599. *Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays, &c.*] * He extorted money from those that kept shows. (See *Don Quixote*, vol. 3, chap. 26, p. 259.)

There is a remarkable account of Biroche, the famous puppet-player of Paris, who was taken up as a conjurer, in one of the Cantons of Switzerland, (they taking his puppets for so many little devils) and he had certainly been condemned as such by the magistrates, had not Monsieur Dumont, a colonel of a regiment of Swiss, interposed—who convinced them at last, that there was no witchcraft in the case. However, they insisted upon Biroche's paying the charge of the prosecution, which he not complying with, they fined him severely, by plundering his puppets, and carrying off their fine clothes in triumph ; and putting him to the expence of new dressing them, before they could appear in Flanders. (See *Count de Rockfort's Memoirs*, 3d. edit. p. 313, &c.) Mr. Addison observes, (*Travels*, edit. 1705, p. 508) that the notion of witchcraft prevails very much among the Swiss. And the *Spectator*, (No. 372) that in Holland there is a tax upon puppet-plays, for the industrious poor.

v. 609. *Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears.*] That is, took a bribe to save them from the pillory.

And made the dirt i' th' streets compound
 For taking up the publick ground :
 The kennel, and the king's highway, 605
 For being unmolested, pay ;
 Let out the stocks, and whipping-post,
 And cage, to those that gave him most ;
 Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears,
 And, for false weights, on chandelers ; 610
 Made victuallers and vintners fine
 For arbitrary ale and wine.
 But was a kind and constant friend
 To all that regularly offend ;
 As residentiary bawds, 615
 And brokers, that receive stol'n goods ;
 That cheat in lawful mysteries,
 And pay church duties, and his fees :
 But was implacable, and awkward,
 To all that interlop'd and hawker'd. 620

The ancient way of punishing bakers for want of weight, was by the tumbrel, or cucking stool. This punishment was inflicted on them in the time of King Henry the Third, by Hugh Bigod, brother to the Earl Marshal. (*Hollinshed's Chronicle*, vol. 2, p. 753, edit. 1577.)

v. 611, 612. *Made victuallers and vintners fine—For arbitrary ale and wine.*] “ Next this he does his country signal service, in the judicious and mature legitimation of tippling houses, that the subject be not imposed upon with illegal and arbitrary ale.” *Character of a Justice of the Peace, Butler's Remains*, vol. 2. (Ed.)

v. 613, 614. *But was a kind and constant friend—To all that regularly offend.*] “ He uses great care and moderation in punishing those that offend regularly, by their calling, as *residentiary* bawds, and incumbent pimps, that pay parish duties.” *Character of a Justice of the Peace, Butler's Remains*, vol. 2. (Ed.)

v. 619, 620. *But was implacable, and awkward—To all that interlop'd and hawker'd.*] “ He is very severe to *hawkers* and *interlopers*,

To this brave man, the knight repairs
 For counsel, in his law affairs ;
 And found him mounted, in his pew,
 With books and money plac'd for show,
 Like nest-eggs to make clients lay, 625
 And for his false opinion pay :
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,
 Put off his hat, to put his case :
 Which he as proudly entertain'd
 As th' other courteously strain'd ; 630
 And, to assure him 'twas not that
 He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.

Quoth he,—There is one Sidrophel,
 Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well.
 And now he brags t' have beaten me ; — 635
 Better and better still, quoth he :
 And vows to stick me to a wall,
 Where'er he meets me—Best of all.

that commit iniquity on the bye." *Character of a Justice of the Peace, Butler's Remains*, vol. 2. (Ed.)

v. 620. ————— and hawker'd.] See *Manley's Interpreter*, and *Cowel*. *Skinner's Etymolog.* *Junii Etymologic.* *Anglican.*

v. 624, 625. *With books and money plac'd for show,—Like nest-eggs to make clients lay.*]

*Discord's apartment different was seen,
 He had a lawyer been ;
 One, that if fee were large, loudly could bawl :
 But had a cough o' th' lungs, if small :
 And never car'd who lost, if he might win.
 His shelves were cram'm'd with proceses and writs,
 Long rolls of parchment, bonds, citations, wills ;
 Fines, errors, executions, and eternal Chancery bills.*

The Progress of Honesty, p. 14.

Tis true, the knave has taken's oath
 That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth. 640
 When h' has confess'd, he stole my cloak,
 And pick'd my fob, and what he took ;
 Which was the cause that made me bang him,
 And take my goods again—Marry hang him.
 Now whether I should before-hand 645
 Swear he robb'd me?—I understand.
 Or bring my *action of conversion*
 And *trover* for my goods?—Ah whoreson.

v. 645, 646. *Now whether I should before-hand—Swear he robb'd me?—*] Thus one Harman, a very wealthy gentleman in Northamptonshire, was served by a tenant. Mr. Harman hearing that his tenant, who was in great arrears, was going to a fair with money to buy cattle, met him designedly upon the road, told him he knew he had money, and desired him to discharge some part of his arrears, which he did with some difficulty. This coming to the knowledge of persons who were no friends to Harman, they advised his tenant to indict him for a robbery upon the highway, which he did, and Mr. Harman was condemned; but pardoned at the instance of one of the same name, who was secretary to the then Lord Treasurer: for which piece of service, he left him his whole estate, which was a very large one. See Arthur Wilson's account of it, *Bishop Kennet's Complete History of England*, vol. 2, p. 787, edit. 1706.

Remarkable was the custom of the Egyptians with regard to theft and robbery. Upon the thief's discovering the theft, and delivering the money or goods to the Chief Priest, the person robbed was bound to return one fourth part of the money or goods stolen to the robber. (Vid. *Diodori Siculi Rer. Antiq.* lib. 2, cap. 3. *Jo. Fra. Pici Mirandula Exam. Doctrin. Vanitat. Gent.* lib. 3. tom. 2, p. 652.)

And it is observed of the Cilicians, that with them robbery was esteemed honourable, and the robber, if he was killed in pursuit of booty, was highly honoured after his death. (*Sexti Philosophi Pyrrh. Hypotyp.* lib. 3, edit. 1621, p. 154.) See Sir Thomas More's proposal for the punishment of theft, *Utopia*, book 1, p. 20, 21.

Or if 'tis better to indite,
 And bring him to his trial?—Right. 650
 Prevent what he designs to do,
 And swear for th' State against him?—True.
 Or whether he that is defendant,
 In this case, has the better end on't ;
 Who putting in a new cross-bill, 655
 May traverse th' action?—Better still.
 Then there's a Lady too,—Aye marry.
 That's easily prov'd accessory ;
 A Widow, who, by solemn vows
 Contracted to me, for my spouse, 660
 Combin'd with him to break her word,
 And has abetted all.—Good Lord !
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel,
 To tamper with the Dev'l of Hell ;
 Who put m' into a horrid fear, 665
 Fear of my life.—Make that appear.
 Made an assault with fiends and men
 Upon my body—Good again :
 And kept me in a deadly fright,
 And false imprisonment, all night: 670
 Meanwhile they robb'd me, and my horse,
 And stole my saddle.—Worse and worse.
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge,
 T' avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.

v. 647, 648. *Or bring my action of conversion—And trover for my goods?—*—] An action of *trover*, (from *trouver*, to find) is an action which a man has against one, who having found any of his goods, refuses to deliver them upon demand. *Bailey's Dictionary. Jacob's Law Dictionary.*

Sir, (quoth the Lawyer,) not to flatter ye, 675
 You have as good, and fair a *battery*
 As heart can wish, and need not shame
 The proudest man alive, to claim.

v. 675. *Sir, quoth the Lawyer, &c.*] The Knight's queries, and the Lawyer's answers, seem to have been artfully managed. The Knight has scarce told the Lawyer any thing but things false in fact: how plausible has he made his own case, and how black that of his adversaries! though he himself was the most notorious offender. This is a perfect example of a practice, than which nothing is more common in life, plaintiffs and defendants generally represent their own case with a fair outside, and conceal what they think will impeach the justness and validity of it. From hence arise so many law suits, and from such partial representations, very often are their disappointments occasioned.

It is observable, that the Knight put his case, and proposed remedies, more like a counsel than a client; he has a command of proper law terms, and seems not to be unexperienced in litigious affairs. The Lawyer now gives his advice, which proves to be agreeable to the Knight's wishes and sentiments; they thereupon part good friends, and without any wrangling, which is a thing very rare with the Knight. The Lawyer concurs with the Knight's opinion, of the conveniencies of perjury, and forgery, and conscientiously promises him his service in the maintenance of them. (Mr. B.)

v. 676. *You have as good, and fair a battery*] This battery was of the same kind with that of Sir Andrew Ague-cheek's, (*Shakespear's Twelfth Night*, act 4. vol. 2. p. 519.) who, when he had struck Sebastian, (taking him for his sister Viola, who was disguised in man's clothes) and Sebastian had returned his compliment, threatens in the following manner.

Sir Andr. "Nay, let him alone, I'll go another way to work with him; I'll have an *action of battery* against him, if there be any law in Illyria: though I struck him first, yet it's no matter for that."

And probably our Lawyer would have defended it, much like him, who in aggravation of the defendant's crime, in an action of battery, told the judge, "that he beat his client with a certain wooden instrument called an iron pestle."

v. 683. *I would so trounce her, and her purse*] The first action brought in a matrimonial case at Rome, was by Carvilius, near five hundred years after the building of that city. *Auli Gellii Noct. Attic.* lib. 4. cap. 3.

For if th' have us'd you, as you say ;
 Marry, quoth I, God give you joy ; 680
 I wou'd it were my case, I'd give
 More than I'll say, or you'll believe :
 I would so trounce her, and her purse,
 I'd make her kneel for bett'r or worse ;
 For matrimony, and hanging here, 685
 Both go by destiny so clear,
 That you as sure may pick and choose,
 As *cross* I win, and *pile* you lose :
 And if I durst, I would advance
 As much in ready maintenance, 690
 As upon any case I've known,
 But we that practice dare not own.

v. 685, 686. *For matrimony, and hanging here,—Both go by destiny so clear*] Torquemada (see *Spanish Maundeville*, 4th disc. fol. 102.) mentions a person who owned at the gallows, "That it was his destiny to be hanged."

With regard to matrimony, the young fellow seems to have been of a different opinion, (see *L'Estrange's Fables*, part 1. fab. 426.) who desired the prayers of the congregation, when he was upon the point of matrimony : see the moral. So Nerissa (see *Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice*, vol. 2. p. 39.) speaks in the same style with our Poet.

"The ancient saying is no heresy,—
Hanging and wiving goes by destiny."

See what Grace says to Winwife, *Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair*, act 4. sc. 3.

Ibid. *Trewly some men there be
 That lyue alwayes in great horroure,
 And say it goth by destenye :
 To hang or wed, both hath one houre ;
 And whether it be, I am well sure
 Hangynge is better of the twayne,
 Sooner done, and shorter payne."*

The Scole Howse, printed by Robert Wyer, circa 1532. (Ed.)

The law severely contrabands
 Our taking bus'ness off men's hands ;
 'Tis common *barratry*, that bears 695
 Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,
 And crops them till there is not leather,
 To stick a pen in, left of either ;
 For which, some do the *summer-sault*,
 And o'er the Bar, like tumblers, vault : 700
 But you may swear at any rate,
 Things not in nature, for the State :
 For in all courts of justice here
 A witness is not said to *swear*,
 But *make oath*, that is, in plain terms, 705
 To forge whatever he affirms.—
 I thank you, (quothe the Knight) for that,
 Because 'tis to my purpose pat——
 For Justice, though she's painted blind,
 Is to the weaker side inclin'd, 710
 Like charity ; else right and wrong
 Could never hold it out so long ;

v. 688. *As cross I win, and pile you lose.*] See note on l. 680, P. III, C. I. (Ed.)

v. 695. *'Tis common barratry.*] From *barret*, a wrangling suit. See *Statute of Champerty*, 33 Ed. 1, 2. *Shene de Verborum Significatione*. *Cowell's Interpreter*. *Manley*. *Wood's Institutes*, &c. p. 417. See *Barrater*. *Junii Etymologic. Anglican*.

v. 697. ——— *'till there is not leather.*] Edit. 1676, 1684. *No leather*, 1700, &c.

v. 699, 700. *For which, some do the summer-sault—And o'er the Bar, like tumblers, vault.*] *Summer-sault*, (*soudre-saulte*, Fr.) a feat of activity shown by a tumbler. Alluding to the custom of throwing unfair practitioners over the Bar. See *Chambers's Cyclopædia*, *Baily's Dict.* *Barclay's Argenis*, lib. 3, chap. 22, p. 392.

VOL. III.

N

And like blind fortune, with a slight,
 Convey men's interest, and right,
 From *Stiles's* pocket, into *Nokes's*, 715
 As easily as *hocus pocus* :
 Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious,
 And clear again, like *hiccius doctius*.
 Then whether you wou'd take her life,
 Or but recover her for your wife ; 720
 Or be content with what she has,
 And let all other matters pass,
 The bus'ness to the law 's alone,
 The proof is all it looks upon :
 And you can want no witnesses, 725
 To swear to any thing you please,

v. 716. *As easily as hocus pocus.*] “ In all probability, (says Archbishop Tillotson, *Discourse against Transubstantiation*) those common juggling words of *hocus pocus*, are nothing but a corruption of *hoc est corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome, in their trick of transubstantiation. Into such contempt, by this foolish doctrine and pretended miracle of theirs, have they brought the most sacred and venerable mystery of our religion.”

See *Hocus Pocus Junior*, *Bibl. Pepysian*. *The Anatomy of Legerdemain, or the Art of Juggling*.

v. 717, 718. *Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious,—And clear again ————*] The crafty part of the profession are bantered by the Clown, in Shakespeare: see *Measure for Measure*, act 3, vol. 1, p. 357.

Mr. Butler may probably gird some of those reforming gentlemen, who during the rebellion divested persons unexceptionable of their property, with a bad character; and restored them to it with a good one at the restoration. (See a remarkable instance, *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's Third Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 145, 146.)

v. 723. ———— *alone.*] In all editions to 1704 inclusive. *All one*, in later editions.

That hardly get their mere expences
 By th' labour of their consciences ;
 Or letting out to hire their ears
 To affidavit customers :
 At inconsiderable values,
 To serve for jury-men, or *tales*,

730

v. 725, 726. *And you can want no witnesses,—To swear to any thing you please.*] Knights of the post were common in all ages.

Non bene conducti vendunt perjuræ testes ;

Non bene selecti iudicis arca patet.

Ovidii Amor, lib. 1, el. 10. 37, 38.

John Taylor, the Water Poet, (see tract *Against Cursing and Swearing*, p. 50) observes of them, "That it is to be feared, that there are some that do make a living, or trade of swearing: as a fellow being asked once of what occupation he was? made answer, that he was a *witness* (witness); which was one that for hire would swear in any man's cause, be it right or wrong." (See *Guzman de Alfarache*, or *Spanish Rogue*, folio 1630, part 2, p. 164.) And Mr. Walker observes, (*History of Independency*, part 3, p. 27) "That the Council of State had hundreds of spies and intelligencers, affidavit-men, and knights of the post."

It is a pity that the false witnesses in those times, (and all others) by whose evidence people's lives were taken away, did not meet with the fate of Sophy, a woman, who giving false evidence against William Bardsius, Prætor of Amsterdam, at the instance of his great enemy Mr. Henry Theodorus, consul of that place, in order to take away his life; "had, May 3, 1561, her tongue cut out, was then hanged, had her body burnt, and publicly exposed." *Baker's History of the Inquisition*, p. 247.

v. 732. *To serve for jury-men, or tales.*] *Tales* is a Latin word of known signification: it is used in our common law, for a supply of men empannelled upon a jury, or inquest, and not appearing, or challenged. For in these cases the judge, upon a petition, granteth a supply to be made by the sheriff, of some men there present, equal in reputation to those that were empannelled. And hereupon the very act of supplying is called a *Tales de Circumstantibus*. When a whole jury is challenged, they are called *Meliores*. (*Cowel's Interpreter*, *Wood's Institute of the Common Law*, p. 591. *Jacob's Law Dictionary*.)

Although retain'd in th' hardest matters,
Of trustees, and administrators.

For that, (quoth he) let me alone ; 735
W' have store of such, and all our own ;
Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,
The ablest of all conscience-stretchers.

That's well, (quoth he,) but I should guess,
By weighing all advantages, 740
Your surest way is first to pitch
On *Bongey*, for a water-witch ;
And when y' have hang'd the Conjurer,
Y' have time enough to deal with her,
In th' int'rim, spare for no trapans 745
To draw her neck into the banns :
Ply her with love-letters, and billets,
And bait 'em well, for quirks and quilletts,

v. 737. *Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers.*] Dr. Downing and Stephen Marshal, who absolved the prisoners released at Brentford from their oaths, as has been before observed.

v. 742. *On Bongey, for a water-witch.*] * Bongey was a Franciscan, and lived towards the end of the thirteenth century, a doctor of divinity in Oxford, and a particular acquaintance of Friar Bacon's. In that ignorant age, every thing that seemed extraordinary was reputed magick, and so both Bacon and Bongey went under the imputation of studying the black art. Bongey also publishing a treatise of Natural Magick, confirmed some well meaning credulous people in this opinion ; but it was altogether groundless, for Bongey was chosen provincial of his order, being a person of most excellent parts and piety." See *Collier's Dictionary*, from Pitts, *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*.

There was likewise " one Mother Bongey, who in diverse books set out with authority, is registered or chronicled by the name of the *Great Witch of Rochester*." (See an abstract of *Scot's History of Witchcraft*, *British Librarian*, No. 4, for April 1737, p. 226.)

v. 748. *And bait 'em well, for quirks and quilletts.*] The word *quillet* is often used by Shakespear. In his *Love's Labour Lost*, act 4,

With trains t' inveigle, and surprize
 Her heedless answers, and replies ; 750
 And if she miss the mouse-trap lines,
 They'll serve for other by-designs ;

vol. 2, p. 142, upon the king of Navarre's talking with his company, of love, and Dumont's saying,

" Aye, marry, there ;—some flattery for this evil —"

Longueville answers,

" Oh ! some authority how to proceed ;
 Some tricks,—some quilllets how to cheat the devil."

The Earl of Warwick likewise uses the word. (*Shakespear's First Part of Henry the Sixth*, act 2, vol. 4, p. 138.)

" But in these nice sharp quilllets of the law,
 Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw."

(See *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, act 3, p. 245.)

Timon.———" Consumptions now
 In hollow bones of man, strike their sharp shins,
 And mar men's spurring. Crack the lawyer' voice
 That he may never more false title plead,
 Nor sound his quilllets shrilly."

(*Timon of Athens*, vol. 5, p. 274.) And in his *Hamlet*, (act 5, vol. 7. p. 347.)

Hamlet, seeing the Grave Digger digging up skulls, says,

" Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer ? where be his quiddits now,
 his quilllets, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks ?"—

(See *Warner's Albion's England*, book 14, chap. 91, p. 369.)

Mr. Peck (in his *Explanatory and Critical Notes on Shakespear's Plays*; see *New Memoirs of the Life of Milton*, p. 230, upon the passage above from *Love's Labour Lost*) observes, " That quillet, as Minshieu says, is a small parcel.—Here we come to the point. If we look into the map of Derbyshire, we find a place called *Over-Seile*, which parish, though surrounded by Derbyshire, is yet a quillet, or small parcel of Leicestershire. The like may be observed of diverse other places in other counties. These quilllets, in all sheriffs' aids, scutages, and the like, it should seem, were taxed, or pretended to be

And make an artist understand
 To copy out her seal, or hand;
 Or find void places in the paper 755
 To steal in something to entrap her ;

taxed, sometimes with one county, sometimes with the other, and sometimes with neither. Thus, when the sheriff of Leicester demanded those aids of the parish of *Over-seile*, it is probable they answered, they belonged to Derbyshire, not to Leicestershire. Again, when the sheriff of Derby demanded those aids, that they belonged to Leicestershire, and not Derbyshire. And so by this pretty artifice, sometimes got excused from both, or at least attempted so to do. The word is often used in our author, and is always used to signify a quirk of the law, or quibble."

Dr. Donne (see letter to his sister, upon the death of her son, *Collection of Letters made by Sir Toby Mathew*, p. 345) uses the word in this sense. "The family would not think itself the less, if any little *quillet* of ground had been conveyed from it; nor must it, because a clod of earth, one person of the family, is removed."

v. 754. *To copy out her seal*] Mr. Selden observes, (*Notes upon the Fourth Song of Drayton's Polyolbion*, p. 69) "that there were no seals before the conquest in England. No king of this land, except the Confessor, before the conquest, ever using in their charters more than subscription of name and crosses."

"The punishment inflicted for counterfeiting another man's seal, was no less than abjuring the kingdom, or going into perpetual exile, as appears by writ of king John to the sheriff of Oxford, (*Dugdale's Antiquit. of Warwickshire*, p. 922, col. 1) wherein the king commands the sheriff to cause one Anketill Manvers, who had been taken up for falsifying the seal of Robert de Oldbridge, to abjure the realm; and to send him without delay to the sea by some of his officers, who should see him go out of the island." *Dissertation on the Antiquity and Use of Seals in England. By Mr. Lewis of Mergate*, 1740, p. 29.

Ibid. ———— *or hand.*] There have been artists in this way in all ages. A remarkable instance of this kind was Young, the forger of the *Flower-Pot Plot*, in the reign of William III. who was, I think, afterwards hanged for coining in Newgate. (See an account of him, in the *Case of Blackhead and Young*.)

'Till with her worldly goods, and body,
 Spite of her heart, she has endow'd ye :
 Retain all sorts of witnesses,
 That ply i' th' Temples, under trees ; 760
 Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,
 About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts ;

Her Grace the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough (see an *Account of her Conduct*, 1742.) observes, upon the imprisonment of the Lord Marlborough for this plot, " That to commit a peer, there should be an affidavit from somebody of the treason. Lord Romney, Secretary of State, sent for one Young, who was then in jail for perjury and forgery, and paid the fine to make him what they call a legal evidence ; for the Court lawyers said, Young not having lost his ears, was an irreproachable evidence." Which verifies Sir Roger L'Estrange's observation (*Reflection on Fable* 386, part 1) " That for a knight of the post, (alluding to the practice of those times) 'tis but dubbing him with the title of king's evidence, and the work is done."

Nay sometimes, when there has been no similitude of hands, from that very circumstance, men of dexterity have pretended to prove it the person's hand.

This was exemplified in the case of an Irish physician, in the time of the Popish Plot, " who was charged with writing a treasonable libel, but denied the thing, and appealed to the unlikeness of the characters. It was agreed, they said, that there was no resemblance at all in the hands ; but the Doctor had two hands, his *physic hand* and his *plot hand* ; and the one not one jot like the other : now this was the Doctor's *plot hand* ; and they insisted upon it, that because it was not like his hand, it was his hand." (*L'Estrange's Moral to the Fable of a Christian and a Jew*, part 2, fab. 202.)

v. 760. *That ply i' th' Temples, under trees.*] Mr. Oldham alludes to this practice, *Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal imitated*, p. 298.

*If Temple Walks and Smithfield never fail
 Of plying rogues, that set their souls to sale*

Or wait for customers, between
 The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-Inn :
 Where vouchers, forgers, common-bail, 765
 And affidavit-men ne'er fail
 T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,
 According to their ears and clothes,

*To the first passenger that bids a price,
 And make their livelihood of perjuries :
 For God's sake, why are you so delicate,
 And think it hard to share the common fate ?*

v. 762. *About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts.*] He calls the monuments of the old knights lying *cross-legged*, hosts to the knights of the post; alluding to the proverb of *dining with Duke Humphrey*—the knights of the post walking in Westminster Abbey about dinner time. (Mr. W.)

See the proverb of *dining with Duke Humphrey* explained amongst the London proverbs, *Fuller's Worthies*, p. 198. And a poem, entitled, *The Legend of the thrice honourable, ancient, and renowned Prince, his Grace, Humphrey, Duke of St. Paul's Cathedral Walk, Surveyor of the Monuments and Tombs of Westminster, and the Temple, Patron to the Perambulators of the Piazzas in Covent Garden, Master of King's Bench Hall, and one of the Coliege's Privy Council. (penes me.)* The author of *Chronic. Chronicor. Ecclesiastic*. lib. 2, p. 72, gives the following account of the *cross-legged Knights*.

Sumptuosissima titulo S. Sepulchri per orbem Christianum erecta Canobia : in quibus hodieque videre licet, militum illorum imagines, monumenta Tibiis in crucem transversis : Sic enim sepulti fuerunt quot quot illo sæculo nomina bello sacro dedissent, vel qui tunc temporis crucem suscepissent.

v. 767, 768. *T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,—According to their ears and clothes.*] Lord Clarendon gives a remarkable instance of this kind. (*History of the Rebellion*, vol. 2, p. 355.) “ An Irishman of a very mean and low condition, who afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to Mr. Pym, as an evidence of one part of the charge against the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, (viz. the Earl of Strafford) in a parti-

Their only necessary tools,
 Besides the gospel, and their souls. 770
 And when y' are furnished with all purveys,
 I shall be ready at your service.

I would not give (quoth Hudibras)
 A straw to understand a case,
 Without the admirabler skill 775
 To wind, and manage it at will ;
 To veer, and tack, and steer a cause,
 Against the weather-gage of laws ;
 And ring the changes upon cases,
 As plain as noses upon faces, 780
 As you have well instructed me,
 For which you've earn'd (here 'tis) your fee ;
 I long to practice your advice,
 And try the subtle artifice ;

cular, in which a person of so vile a quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer: Mr. Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak ; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence." The like was practised in the trial of Lord Stafford, for the Popish Plot, (*Mr. Carte's History of the Life of James, the First Duke of Ormond*, vol. 2, p. 517.) by Mr. Hetherington, agent to Lord Shaftesbury. See likewise *Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's Fourth Volume of the History of the Puritans*, p. 379.

v. 782. *For which you've earn'd (here 'tis) your fee.*] The beggar's prayer for the lawyer would have suited this gentleman very well. (See the *Works of J. Taylor, the Water Poet*, p. 101.) " May the terms be everlasting to thee, thou man of tongue ; and may contentions grow and multiply ; may actions beget actions, and cases engender cases as thick as hops ; may every day of the year be a Shrove Tuesday ; let procla-

To bait a letter as you bid——
As not long after, thus he did :
For having pump'd up all his wit,
And humm'd upon it, thus he writ.

785

mations forbid fighting, to increase actions of battery ; that thy cassock
may be three-pilde, and the welts of thy gown may not grow thread-
bare !”



AN HEROICAL EPISTLE
OF
HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.

HUDIBRAS.



HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.

I WHO was once as great as Cæsar,
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezer :
And from as fam'd a conqueror
As ever took degree in war,

This epistle was to be the result of all the fair methods the Knight was to use in gaining the Widow : it therefore required all his wit and dexterity, to draw from this artful lady an unwary answer. If the plot succeeded, he was to compel her immediately by law, to a compliance with his desires. But the lady was too cunning to give him such a handle as he longed for : on the contrary, her answer silenced all his pretensions. (Mr. B.)

v. 2. *Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezer.*] See *Daniel*, iv. 32, 33. *Webster's Display of supposed Witchcraft*, p. 91. to 97, inclusive.

Or did his exercise in battle, 5
By you turn'd out to grass with cattle ;
For since I am deny'd access
To all my earthly happiness,
Am fallen from the paradise
Of your good graces, and fair eyes, 10
Lost to the world, and you, I'm sent
To everlasting banishment ;
Where all the hopes I had t' have won
Your heart, being dash'd, will ~~break~~ my own.
Yet if you were not so severe 15
To ~~pass~~ your doom, before you ~~hear~~,
You'd ~~find~~, upon my just defence,
How much y' have wrong'd my innocence.
That once I made a vow to you,
Which yet is unperform'd, 'tis true ; 20
But not because it is unpaid,
'Tis violated, though delay'd :
Or, if it were, it is no fault,
So heinous as you'd have it thought ;
To undergo the loss of ears, 25
Like vulgar hackney perjurers :
For there's a diff'rence in the case,
Between the noble and the base ;
Who always are observ'd t' have don't
Upon as diff'rent an account : 30
The one for great and weighty cause,
To salve, in honour, ugly flaws ;
For none are like to do it sooner
Than those who are nicest of their honour :

The other for base gain and pay, 35
Forswear, and perjure by the day ;
And make th' exposing and retailing
Their souls and consciences, a calling.
It is no scandal, nor aspersion,
Upon a great, and noble person, 40
To say, he nat'rally abhorr'd
Th' old-fashioned trick, to keep his word,
Though 'tis perfidiousness and shame
In meaner men, to do the same :
For to be able to forget, 45
Is found more useful to the great,
Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes,
To make 'em pass for wond'rous wise.
But though the law, on perjurers,
Inflicts the forfeiture of ears ; 50
It is not just, that does exempt
The guilty, and punish th' innocent :
To make the ears repair the wrong
Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue ;
And when one member is forsworn, 55
Another to be cropt or torn.
And if you should, as you design,
By course of law, recover mine,

v. 53, 54. *To make the ears repair the wrong—Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue.*] Sir Hudibras seems to think it as unreasonable to punish one member for the fault of another, as the Dutchman did the application made to one part for the cure of another. "A purse-proud Dutchman" (says Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables*, part 2, fab. 313) "was troubled with a megrim: the Doctors prescribed him a clyster, the patient fell into a rage upon it: *Why certainly these people are all mad,* (says he) *who talk of curing a man's head at his tail.*"

You're like, if you consider right,
To gain but little honour by't. 60
For he that for his lady's sake
Lays down his life, or limbs at stake,
Does not so much deserve her favour,
As he that pawns his soul to have her.
This y' have acknowledg'd I have done, 65
Although you now disdain to own :
But sentence, what you rather ought
T' esteem good service, than a fault.
Besides, oaths are not bound to bear
That literal sense the words infer ; 70
But, by the practice of the age,
Are to be judg'd how far th' engage ;
And where the sense by custom's check'd
Are found void, and of none effect ;
For no man takes or keeps a vow, 75
But just as he sees others do ;
Nor are th' oblig'd to be so brittle
As not to yield, and bow a little :
For as best-temper'd blades are found,
Before they break, to bend quite round ; 80
So truest oaths are still most tough,
And though they bow, are breaking proof.
Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd
In love a greater latitude ?
For as the law of arms approves 85
All ways to conquest, so should love's ;
And not to be ty'd to true or false,
But make that justest that prevails :

For how can that which is above
 All empire, high and mighty love, 90
 Submit it's great prerogative
 To any other power alive?
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,
 Become the subject of a case?
 The fundamental law of nature, 95
 Be over-rul'd by those made after?
 Commit the censure of it's cause
 To any but it's own great laws?
 Love, that's the world's preservative,
 That keeps all souls of things alive; 100
 Controuls the mighty pow'r of fate,
 And gives mankind a longer date;
 The life of nature, that restores,
 As fast as time and death devours;
 To whose free-gift the world does owe 105
 Not only earth, but Heaven too:

v. 107, 108. *For love's the only trade that's driven,—The interest of state in Heaven.*] Father Lewis Henriquez, in his singular book, entitled, *The Business of the Saints in Heaven*, (printed at Salamanca, 1631) attempts to prove, "that every saint shall have his particular house in Heaven, and Christ a most magnificent palace! That there shall be large streets and great piazzas," &c. (chap. 22.) Again: "That there shall be a sovereign pleasure in kissing and embracing the bodies of the blest; that there shall be pleasant baths, and that they shall bathe themselves in each other's sight—that they shall swim like fishes; and sing as melodiously as nightingales," &c. (chap. 24.) He affirms, "that the men and women shall delight themselves in masquerades, feasts, and ballads." (chap. 47.) And "that the angels shall put on women's habits, and appear to the saints in the dress of ladies, with curls and locks, waist-coats and fardingales," &c. (chap. 58.) (ED.)

For love's the only trade that's driven,
 The interest of state in Heaven,
 Which nothing but the soul of man,
 Is capable to entertain. 110
 For what can earth produce, but love,
 To represent the joys above?
 Or who, but lovers, can converse,
 Like angels, by the eye-discourse?
 Address and compliment by vision, 115
 Make love, and court by intuition?
 And burn in am'rous flames as fierce
 As those celestial ministers?
 Then how can any thing offend,
 In order to so great an end? 120

v. 113, 114. *Or who, but lovers, can converse,—Like angels, by the eye-discourse?*] *Metaphysicians are of opinion, that angels, and souls departed, being divested of all gross matter, understand each other's sentiments by intuition, and consequently maintain a sort of conversation without the organs of speech."

The correspondence by two persons at a great distance, mentioned by Strada, and quoted by the *Guardian*, (No. 119.) was much more extraordinary than this eye-discourse of lovers. He, in the person of Lucretius, "gives an account of the chimerical correspondence between two friends, by the help of a loadstone; which had such a virtue in it, that it touched two several needles. When one of these needles so touched began to move, the other, though at never so great a distance, began to move at the same time, and in the same manner. He tells us, that the two friends being each of them possess of one of these needles, made a kind of dial plate, inscribing it with four and twenty letters, in the same manner that the hours of the day are marked upon the ordinary dial plate; they then fixed the needles on each of these plates, in such a manner, that it could move round without impediment, so as to touch any of the four and twenty letters. Upon separating from one another, into distant countries, they agreed to withdraw themselves punctually into their closets at a certain hour of the day, and to converse with one

Or Heav'n itself a sin resent,
 That for it's own supply was meant ?
 That merits, in a kind mistake,
 A pardon for th' offence's sake.
 Or if it did not, but the cause 125
 Were left to th' injury of laws,
 What tyranny can disapprove
 There should be equity in love ?
 For laws that are inanimate,
 And feel no sense of love, or hate, 130
 That have no passion of their own,
 Nor pity to be wrought upon ;
 Are only proper to inflict
 Revenge on criminals, as strict :
 But to have power to forgive, 135
 Is empire, and prerogative ;
 And 'tis in crowns, a nobler gem,
 To grant a pardon, than condemn.

another by means of this their invention. Accordingly, when they were
 some hundred miles asunder, each of them shut himself up in his
 closet at the time appointed, and immediately cast his eye upon his dial
 plate. If he had a mind to write any thing to his friend, he directed
 his needle to every letter that formed the words which he had occasion
 for, making a little pause at the end of every word, or sentence, to
 avoid confusion : the friend at the same time saw his own sympathetic
 needle moving itself to every letter, which that of his correspondent
 pointed at. By this means, they talked together across a whole conti-
 nent, and conveyed their thoughts to one another in an instant, over
 cities, mountains, seas, or deserts."

v. 121. *Or Heav'n itself a sin resent, &c.*] * In regard children
 are capable of being inhabitants of Heaven, therefore it should not resent
 it as a crime, to supply store of inhabitants for it."

Then since so few do what they ought,
 'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault ; 140
 For why should he who made address,
 All humble ways, without success,
 And met with nothing in return,
 But insolence, affronts, and scorn,
 Not strive by wit to counter-mine, 145
 And bravely carry his design ?
 He who was us'd so unlike a soldier,
 Blown up with philters of love-powder ?

v. 137, 138. *And 'tis in crowns, a nobler gem,—To grant a pardon, than condemn.*] This was part of Julius Cæsar's character, as given us by Sallust, in his comparison of Cato and Cæsar. (*Bell. Catalinar. Sallustii Op.* edit. varior. 1690, p. 139.) “ *Cæsar beneficiis, ac munificentiâ magnus habebatur ; integritate vitæ Cato ; ille mansuetudine, et misericordiâ clarus, factus ; huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo ; Cato nihil largiendo gloriam adeptus est.*” See *Spectator's* remark upon these two characters, vol. 2. No. 169. Vid. *Heliodori Æthiopic.* lib. 9. cap. 25, p. 453. edit. *Lugduni*, 1611. *Barclay's Argenis*, lib. 5, cap. 1, p. 572.

Isabella, (see *Shakespear's Measure for Measure, Works*, vol. 1, p. 366) in pleading to Angelo for her brother's life, seems to have been of this opinion.

“ No ceremony that to great ones 'longs,
 Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
 The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
 Become them with one half so good a grace
 As mercy doth.”

(See a remarkable instance in the case of Bonneval, saved by Cardinal Richlieu, *La Belle Assemblée*, published 1738, vol. 2, p. 65.)

v. 148. *Blown up with philters of love-powder.*] See *Eleanor Cobham's Heroical Epistle to Duke Humphrey*, *Drayton's Heroical Epistles*, folio 50. *Shakespear's King Henry the Sixth, Second Part*, act 2, vol. 4, p. 211, 218 ; act 2, 228, 231. *Wieri de Præstigiis Dæmonum*, lib. 3. cap. 39. *Turkish Spy*, vol. 7, book 4, letter 5.

And after letting blood, and purging,
Condemn'd to voluntary scourging : 150
Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,
And claw'd by goblins in the night ;
Insulted on, revil'd, and jeer'd,
With rude invasion of his beard ;
And when your sex was foully scandal'd, 155
As foully by the rabble handled :
Attack'd by despicable foes,
And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows ;
And, after all, to be debarr'd
So much as standing on his guard : 160
When horses, being spurr'd and prick'd,
Have leave to kick, for being kick'd ?

Or why should you, whose mother-wits
Are furnish'd with all perquisites ;
That with your breeding teeth begin, 165
And nursing babies, that lie in ;
B' allow'd to put all tricks upon
Our cully sex, and we use none ?
We, who have nothing but frail vows,
Against your stratagems t' oppose, 170
Or oaths more feeble than your own,
By which we are no less put down ?
You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,
And kill with a retreating eye :

v. 173. *You wound, like Parthians, while you fly*] * Parthians are the inhabitants of a province in Persia ; they were excellent horsemen, and very exquisite at their bows ; and it is reported of them, that they generally slew more upon their retreat than they did in the engagement."

Retire the more, the more we press, 175
 To draw us into ambushes :
 As pirates all false colours wear,
 T' entrap th' unwary mariner :
 So women, to surprize us, spread
 The borrow'd flags of white and red : 180
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,
 Than their old grandmothers, the Picts ;
 And raise more devils with their looks,
 Than conjurers' less subtle books.
 Lay trains of amorous intrigues, 185
 In tow'rs, and curls, and periwigs,
 With greater art, and cunning rear'd,
 Than *Philip Nye's Thanksgiving Beard*.

Fidentemque fuga Parthum, versisque sagittis—

Virgilii Georgic. lib. 3. 31.

—Et missa Parthi post terga sagitta.

Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 1. 230.

Horatii Carm. 2, 13, 13, 14, 17, 18. Justini Histor. lib. 41. Gruteri Fax Art. tom. 3, par. 1, cap. 46, p. 515. Lewis's History of the Parthian Empire, p. 4, 5.

The Russians and Tartars shoot forwards and backwards. See *Dr. Giles Fletcher's Account of Russia, Purchase his Pilgrims*, part 3, lib. 3, p. 437. And the author of a book, entitled, *A Discourse of the Original of the Cossacks and Precopian Tartars*, 1672, observes, (p. 52) "That the Tartars shoot their arrows behind them with such exactness, as to hit those that pursue them at two hundred paces distance."

Mr. Prior (as Mr. Warburton observes) borrowed this thought to adorn his ode on a lady, that refused to continue a dispute.

So when the Parthian turn'd his steed, &c.

v. 188. *Than Philip Nye's Thanksgiving Beard*] * One of the Assembly of Divines, very remarkable for the singularity of his beard."

Prepost'rously t' entice, and gain
 Those to adore 'em they disdain : 190
 And only draw 'em in, to clog,
 With idle names, a catalogue.

A lover is, the more he's brave,
 T' his mistress but the more a slave;
 And whatsoever she commands, 195
 Becomes a favour from her hands ;
 Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,
 Whether it be unjust, or just.
 Then when he is compell'd by her
 T' adventures, he would else forbear, 200

Nye was a leading Independent preacher. " He was put into Dr. Featley's living at Acton, and rode thither every Lord's day in triumph, in a coach drawn with four horses, to exercise there." (See *Levit's Scourge*, 1644, p. 61.)

There was a curious pulpit and paper war carried on (says Mr. Byron) between this saint and William Lilly the conjurer, about the lawfulness of his art, though Lilly was employed for the service of the Parliament. Which dispute (like many others) was interlarded with some pretty epithets, personal altercations, &c. for Nye " bleated forth his judgment publickly against Lilly, and astrology." And in return, Lilly called Nye a *jesuitical Presbyterian*; (he was an Independent) and says, that " to be quit with him, I urged Abbot Causinus the Jesuit's approbation of astrology; and concluded, *Sic canibus catulos*, &c." (*Lilly's Life*, p. 83.)

At the Restoration, it was debated several hours together, whether Philip Nye and John Goodwin should not be excepted for life, because they had acted so highly (none more so, except Hugh Peters) against the king: and it came at last to this result, that if after the first of September, the same year, they should accept any preferment, they should in law stand as if they had been excepted totally for life. (*Wood's Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2, col. 369.)

Ibid. Butler has devoted an entire poem to the celebration of this saint's extraordinary beard. *Remains*, by *Thyer*, vol. 1. (Ed.)

Who, with his honour, can withstand,
 Since force is greater than command?
 And when necessity's obey'd,
 Nothing can be unjust or bad:
 And therefore, when the mighty pow'rs 205
 Of love, our great ally, and yours,
 Join'd forces not to be withstood
 By frail enamour'd flesh and blood;
 All I have done, unjust or ill,
 Was in obedience to your will; 210
 And all the blame that can be due,
 Falls to your cruelty and you.
 Nor are those scandals I confest,
 Against my will and interest,
 More than is daily done of course, 215
 By all men, when they're under force.
 Whence some, upon the rack, confess
 What th' hangman and their prompters please;
 But are no sooner out of pain,
 Than they deny it all again. 220
 But when the Devil turns confessor,
 Truth is a crime, he takes no pleasure
 To hear, or pardon, like the founder
 Of liars, whom they all claim under.
 And therefore, when I told him none, 225
 I think it was the wiser done.

v. 223, 224. ———— *like the founder—Of liars—*] “Ye are
 of your father the Devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was
 a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because
 there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his
 own; for he is a liar, and the father of it.” *St. John*, viii. 44. (Ed.)

Nor am I without precedent,
 The first that on th' adventure went :
 All mankind ever did of course,
 And daily does the same, or worse. 230
 For what romance can shew a lover,
 That had a lady to recover,
 And did not steer a nearer course,
 To fall a-board in his amours ?
 And what at first was held a crime, 235
 Has turn'd to hon'able in time.

To what a height did infant Rome,
 By ravishing of women come,
 When men upon their spouses seiz'd,
 And freely marry'd where they pleas'd : 240
 They ne'er forswore themselves, nor lied,
 Nor in the mind they were in, died :
 Nor took the pains t' address, and sue,
 Nor play'd the masquerade to woo :
 Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents, 245
 Nor juggled about settlements ;

v. 230. *And daily does*] In all editions to 1716 inclusive; *daily do*, 1726, &c.

v. 233. *And did not steer a nearer course*] This is true of some romances, particularly of *Amadis de Gaul*, and *Amadis of Greece*; but of no others, that I know of.

v. 237. *To what a height did infant Rome, &c.*] * When Romulus had built Rome, he made it an asylum, or place of refuge for all malefactors, and others obnoxious to the laws, to retire to; by which means it soon came to be very populous; but when he began to consider, that without propagation it would soon be destitute of inhabitants, he invented several fine shows, and invited the young Sabine women, then neighbours to them; and when they had them secure, they ravished them; from whence proceeded so numerous an offspring."

Did need no license, nor no priest,
 Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist;
 Nor lawyers, to join land and money,
 In th' holy state of matrimony, 250
 Before they settled hands and hearts,
 Till alimony, or death departs:
 Nor wou'd endure to stay until
 Th' had got the very bride's good will,
 But took a wise and shorter course 255
 To win the ladies, down-right force:
 And justly made 'em prisoners then,—
 As they have often since, us men;
 With acting plays, and dancing jigs,
 The luckiest of all love's intrigues— 260
 And when they had them at their pleasure,
 Then talk'd of love and flames, at leisure:
 For after matrimony's over,
 He that holds out, but half a lover,
 Deserves, for ev'ry minute, more 265
 Than half a year of love before;
 For which the dames, in contemplation
 Of that best way of application,
 Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,
 By suit or treaty to be won: 270
 And such as all posterity
 Could never equal, nor come nigh.

v. 252. *'Till alimony, or death departs]* **Alimony* is an allowance that the law gives the woman for her separate maintenance upon living from her husband. That and death are reckoned the only separations in a married state.

For women first were made for men,
Not men for them.—It follows, then,
That men have right to ev'ry one, 275
And they no freedom of their own :
And therefore men have pow'r to chuse,
But they no charter to refuse.
Hence 'tis apparent, that what course
Soe'er we take to your amours, 280
Though by the indirectest way,
'Tis no injustice, nor foul play ;
And that you ought to take that course,
As we take you, for bett'r or worse ;
And gratefully submit to those 285
Who you, before another, chose.
For why should ev'ry savage beast
Exceed his great lord's interest ?
Have freer pow'r, than he, in grace
And nature, o'er the creature has ? 290
Because the laws he since has made,
Have cut off all the pow'r he had ;
Retrench'd the absolute dominion
That nature gave him over women ;
When all his pow'r will not extend 295
One law of nature to suspend :
And but to offer to repeal
The smallest clause, is to rebel.
Th's, if men rightly understood
Their privilege, they would make good ; 300
And not, like sots, permit their wives
T' encroach on their prerogatives ;

For which sin they deserve to be
 Kept, as they are, in slavery :
 And this some precious *gifted teachers*, 305
 Unrev'rently reputed lechers,
 And disobey'd in making love,
 Have vow'd to all the world to prove,
 And make ye suffer, as you ought,
 For that uncharitable fault. 310
 But I forget myself, and rove
 Beyond th' instructions of my love.
 Forgive me, Fair, and only blame
 Th' extravagancy of my flame,
 Since 'tis too much, at once to show 315
 Excess of love and temper too.
 All I have said that's bad, and true,
 Was never meant to aim at you ;

v. 305, 306. ———— *some precious gifted teachers,—Unrev'rently reputed lechers*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (*Key to Hudibras*) mentions Mr. Case as one; and mention is made of Dr. Burgess and Hugh Peters, *Butler's Spurious Remains*. And the writer of *A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke*, 1647, p. 9, observes of Peters, "That it was offered to be publicly proved, that he got both mother and daughter with child." "I am glad (says an anonymous person, *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 4, p. 734) to hear that Mr. Peters shews his head again; it was reported here (Amsterdam, May 5, 1655) that he was found with a whore a-bed, and that he grew mad, and said nothing, but "*O blood, O blood, that troubles me.*" See more, *Committee Man carried*, by S. S. 1647, 2d. part. act 2, p. 6. *A Quarrel betwixt Tower Hill and Tyburn*, *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. 2, No. 2, p. 4. *History of Independency*, part 2, p. 181; part 4, p. 15, &c. *Dialogue between Mr. Guthry and Mr. Giffan*, 1661, p. 22.

Who have so sov'reign a control
O'er that poor slave of your's, my soul ; 320
That rather than to forfeit you,
Has ventur'd loss of Heaven too :
Both with an equal pow'r possess,
To render all, that serve you, blest :
But none like him, who's destin'd either 325
To have, or lose you, both together.
And if you'll but this fault release,
(For so it must be, since you please)
I'll pay down all that vow, and more,
Which you commanded, and I swore, 330
And expiate upon my skin
Th' arrears in full of all my sin.
For 'tis but just that I should pay,
Th' accruing penance, for delay,
Which shall be done, until it move 335
Your equal pity, and your love.

The Knight perusing this epistle,
Believ'd, h' had brought her to his whistle ;
And read it like a jocund lover,
With great applause t' himself, twice over : 340
Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit
And humble distance to his wit ;
And dated it with wond'rous art,
Giv'n from the bottom of his heart ;
Then seal'd it with his coat of love, 345
A smoking faggot,—and above,

Upon a scroll——*I burn, and weep,*
 And near it——*For her Ladyship ;*
Of all her sex most excellent,
These to her gentle hands present. 350
 Then gave it to his faithless Squire,
 With lessons how t' observe, and eye her.
 She first consider'd which was better,
 To send it back, or burn the letter.
 But guessing that it might import, 355
 Though nothing else, at least her sport,

v. 349. *Of all her sex most excellent]*

O Dido, primrose of perfection.

Cotton's Virgil Travestie, b. 1. (See *Don Quixote*, vol. 2, chap. 3, p. 45.)

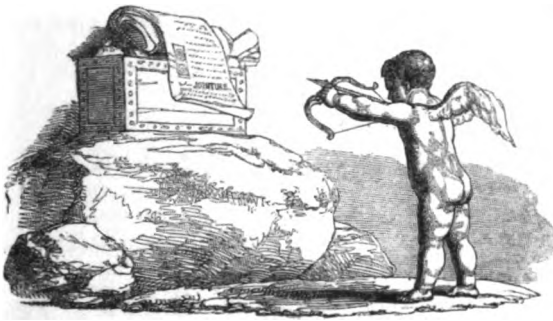
Ibid. The Knight's prolix superscription to his love-letter is in the fashionable style of the time: "These, for my honoured mother"—"To my most honoured uncle present these"—"To my most honoured good friend, these"—"These, present with care and speed"—were common forms of expression. (ED.)

v. 351. *Then gave it to his faithless Squire]* The quaint superscription of this famous letter, and the solemn manner of the Knight's delivering it, with directions to his Squire, is very diverting: it puts me in mind of the like solemnity in *Don Quixote*, b. 3, chap. 11, p. 284, which if the reader pleases to compare with the scene before him, it may add to his diversion; and he will be pleased to find, that our Knight exactly adheres to the laws of knight-errantry. (MR. B.)

v. 352. *With lessons how t' observe, and eye her]* *Don Quixote*, when he sent his Squire Sancho to his Mistress Dulcinea del Toboso, (see third volume, chap. 10, p. 85) gives him the following directions. "Go then, auspicious youth, and have a care of being daunted, when thou approachest the beams of that refulgent sun of beauty—Observe and engrave in thy memory the manner of this reception; mark whether her colour changes upon the delivery of thy commission; whether her looks betray any emotion or concern when she hears my name. In

She open'd it, and read it out,
With many a smile and leering flout :
Resolv'd to answer it in kind,
And thus perform'd what she design'd. 360

short, observe all her actions, every motion, every gesture ; for by the accurate relation of these things, I shall divine the secrets of her breast, and draw just inferences, so far as this imports to my amour."



THE LADY'S ANSWER
TO
THE KNIGHT.

VOL. III.

P

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THE LADY'S ANSWER.

THAT you're a beast, and turn'd to grass,
Is no strange news, nor ever was,
At least to me, who once, you know,
Did from the pound *replevin* you,
When both your sword and spurs were won, 5
In combat, by an Amazon:
That sword, that did (like fate) determine
'Th' inevitable death of vermin;
And never dealt its furious blows,
But cut the threads of pigs and cows; 10
By Trulla was, in single fight,
Disarm'd, and wrested from its Knight,

Your heels degraded of your spurs,
 And in the stocks close prisoners :
 Where still they'd lain, in base restraint, 15
 If I, in pity of your complaint,
 Had not, on hon'rab'le conditions,
 Releas'd 'em from the worst of prisons ;
 And what return that favour met,
 You cannot (though you wou'd) forget ; 20
 When being free, you strove t' evade
 The oaths you had in prison made ;
 Forswore yourself, and first deny'd it,
 But after own'd, and justify'd it :
 And when y' had falsely broke one vow, 25
 Absolv'd yourself, by breaking two.
 For while you sneakingly submit,
 And beg for pardon at our feet,
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears,
 To hope for quarter for your ears ; 30

v. 4. *Did from the pound replevin you*] *Replevin*, the releasing of cattle, or other goods distrained, with surety to answer the distrainer's suit. (See *Jacob's Law Dictionary*, and *Baily*.)

v. 13. *Your heels degraded of your spurs*] To this the author of *Butler's Ghost* refers, canto 1. p. 89.

*You look, as if y' had something in ye,
 Much different from the quondam nancy,
 That sat with hamper'd foot i' th' stocks,
 Dispersing his insipid jokes.*

And perhaps, as Bertram observes of Parolles the coward, (see Snakespear's play, entitled, *All's well that ends well*, act 4.)

“ *His heels deserve'd it, for usurping his spurs so long.*”

In England, when a knight was degraded, his gilt spurs were beaten from his heels, and his sword taken from him, and broken. (See *Sir William Segar's book, Of Honour, Civil and Military*, lib. 2. chap. 13. p. 75. *Selden's Titles of Honour*, 2d edition, 2d part, chap. 5. p. 787.)

And doubting 'twas in vain to sue,
 You claim us boldly as your due ;
 Declare that treachery and force,
 To deal with us, is th' only course :
 We have no title nor pretence 35
 To body, soul, or conscience :
 But ought to fall to that man's share
 That claims us for his proper ware.
 These are the motives, which, t' induce,
 Or fright us into love, you use. 40
 A pretty new way of gallanting,
 Between soliciting and ranting ;
 Like sturdy beggars, that entreat
 For charity at once, and threat.
 But since you undertake to prove 45
 Your own propriety in love,
 As if we were but lawful prize
 In war, between two enemies ;
 Or forfeitures, which ev'ry lover,
 That wou'd but sue for, might recover. 50
 It is not hard to understand
 The myst'ry of this bold demand ;
 That cannot at our persons aim,
 But something capable of claim.
 'Tis not those paltry counterfeit 55
 French stones, which in our eyes you set,

v. 43, 44. *Like sturdy beggars, that entreat—For charity at once, and threat*] It is observed of the beggars in Spain, that they are very proud, and when they ask an alms, it is in a very imperious and domineering way. (See *Lady's Travels into Spain*, part the last, p. 228.)

But our right diamonds, that inspire
 And set your am'rous hearts on fire :
 Nor can those false St. Martin's beads,
 Which on our lips you lay for reds, 60
 And make us wear, like Indian dames,
 Add fuel to your scorching flames :
 But those true rubies of the rock,
 Which in our cabinets we lock.
 'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth, 65
 That you are so transported with ;
 But those we wear about our necks,
 Produce those amorous effects.

v. 57. *But our right diamonds, that inspire*] The *Tatler* seems in one instance to be of a different opinion. (No. 151.) "What jewel (says he) can the charming Cleora place in her ears, that can please her beholders so much as her eyes? — The cluster of diamonds upon her breast, can add no beauty to the fair chest of ivory that supports it; it may indeed tempt a man to steal a woman, but not to love her."

v. 59. ———— *St. Martin's beads*] Artificial rubies. (Ed.)

v. 61. *And make us wear, like Indian dames, &c.*] Who wore stones hung at their lips. (Mr. W.) The Brazilians do so, as Maffeus affirms. *Purchase his Pilgrims*, vol. 5. b. 9. p. 906. See Knivet's account, *ibid.* vol. 4. p. 1225. and an account of the several nations that wear stones in their lips, *Dr. Bulwer's Artificial Changeling*, sc. 11.

v. 65. *'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth, &c.*] In the *History of Don Fenise, a Romance, translated from the Spanish of Francisco de Las Coveras*, 1651; Don Antonio, speaking of his mistress Charity, p. 269, says, "My covetousness exceeding my love, counselled me, that it was better to have gold in money, than in threads of hair; and to possess pearls that resembled teeth, than teeth that were like pearls."

Ibid. In praising Cloris, moons and stars and skies
 Are quickly made to match her face and eyes;
 And gold and rubies, with as little care,
 To fit the colour of her lips and hair:
 And mixing suns, and flowers, and pearls, and stones,
 Make 'em serve all complexions at once.

Nor is't those threads of gold, our hair,
The periwigs you make us wear ; 70
But those bright guineas in our chests,
That light the wildfire in your breasts.
These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,
That all their sly intrigues I know,
And can unriddle by their tones, 75
Their mystick cabals, and jargones :
Can tell what passions, by their sounds,
Pine for the beauties of my grounds ;
What raptures fond and amorous
O' th' charms and graces of my house ; 80
What extacy, and scorching flame,
Burns for my money, in my name :
What, from th' unnatural desire,
To beasts and cattle, takes its fire ;
What tender sigh, and trickling tear, 85
Longs for a thousand pounds a year ;
And languishing transports are fond
Of statute, mortgage, bill and bond.
These are th' attracts which most men fall
Enamour'd, at first sight, withal ; 90
To these th' address with serenades,
And court with balls, and masquerades ;
And yet, for all the yearning pain
Y' have suffer'd for their loves, in vain ;

*With these fine fancies at hap-hazard writ,
I could make verses without art or wit,
And, shifting fifty times the verb and noun,
With stol'n impudence patch up my own.*

Butler's Remains, vol. 1. (Ed.)

I fear they'll prove so nice and coy, 95
 To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy ;
 That all your oaths and labour lost,
 They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.
 This is not meant to disapprove
 Your judgment, in your choice of love ; 100
 Which is so wise, the greatest part
 Of mankind study't as an art ;
 For love shou'd, like a deodand,
 Still fall to th' owner of the land :
 And where there's substance for its ground, 105
 Cannot but be more firm and sound,
 Than that which has the slighter basis,
 Of airy virtue, wit, and graces ;
 Which is of such thin subtlety,
 It steals and creeps in at the eye, 110
 And, as it can't endure to stay,
 Steals out again, as nice a way.

But love, that its extraction owns
 From solid gold, and precious stones,
 Must, like its shining parents, prove 115
 As solid, and as glorious love.
 Hence 'tis, you have no way t' express
 Our charms and graces, but by these :
 For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,
 Which beauty invades and conquers with ; 120

v. 103. ————— *like a deodand*] A thing given, or rather forfeited to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure. See *Manley's Interpreter* ; *Jacob's Law Dictionary* ; *Wood's Institute of the Common Law of England*, p. 212, 213.

But rubies, pearls, and diamonds,
 With which a philter-love commands ;
 This is the way all parents prove,
 In managing their children's love ;
 That force 'em t' intermarry and wed, 125
 As if th' were burying of the dead.
 Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,
 To join in wedlock all they have ;
 And when the settlement's in force,
 Take all the rest, for bett'r, or worse : 130

v. 123, 124. *This is the way all parents prove,—In managing their children's love*] The author of the *Devil upon Two Sticks*, gives an instance of this in the case of a delicate young lady, whom her prudent parents prostituted to the embraces of an old brute. "The beastly sot (says he) was rival to one of a very agreeable character: their fortunes were equal; but I dare say, you will laugh at the merit which preferred this worthy to the choice of the mother: you must know he had a pigeon house upon his estate, which the other had not: this turned the balance in his favour, and determined the fate of that unfortunate lady." (See *Tatler*, No. 185, 188. *Spectator*, No. 15. 181.)

v. 127. *Cast earth to earth, as in the grave*] Alluding to the *Burial Office*, which was scandalously ridiculed in those times. One Brooke, a London lecturer, at the burial of Mr. John Gough, of Saint James's, Duke's Place, within Aldgate, London, used the following words.

*Ashes to ashes, dust to dust ;
 Here's the pit, and in thou must.*

Mercurius Rusticus, No. 9, p. 97.

Mr. Cheynell behaved as remarkably at the funeral of Mr. Chillingworth. After a reflecting speech upon the deceased, he threw his book, entitled, *The Religion of Protestants, a safe Way to Salvation*, into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls: *earth to earth, dust to dust*: get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with the author, and see corruption." (*Mr. Neal's History of the Puritans*, vol. 3. p. 102. from *Chillingworth's Life*, p. 314.)

For money has a power above
 The stars, and fate, to manage love;
 Whose arrows, learned poets hold,
 That never miss, are tipp'd with gold.
 And though some say, the parents' claims 135
 To make love in their children's names;
 Who many times, at once, provide
 The nurse, the husband, and the bride;
 Feel darts and charms, attracts and flames,
 And woo, and contract, in their names: 140
 And as they christen, use to marry 'em,
 And, like their gossips, answer for 'em:
 Is not to give in matrimony,
 But sell and prostitute for money;
 'Tis better than their own betrothing, 145
 Who often do't for worse than nothing:

v. 131, 132. *For money has a pow'r above—The stars, and fate, to manage love*] See *Butler's Ghost*, canto 1. p. 61. How small a matter will sometimes preponderate in this case, appears from the *Spectator*, (No. 15.) who mentions a young lady, who was warmly solicited by a couple of importunate rivals, who, for many months together, did all they could to recommend themselves, by complacency of behaviour, and agreeableness of conversation. At length, when the competition was doubtful, and the lady undetermined in her choice; one of the young lovers luckily bethought himself of adding a supernumerary lace to his liveries, which had so good an effect, that he married her the very week after.

v. 133. *Whose arrows, learned poets hold, &c.*] * The poets feign Cupid to have two sorts of arrows, the one tipped with *gold*, and the other with *lead*: the *golden* always inspire and inflame love in the persons he wounds with them; but, on the contrary, the *lead* create the utmost aversion and hatred. With the first of these he shot Apollo, and with the other Daphne, according to Ovid."

And when th' are at their own dispose,
With greater disadvantage choose.
All this is right ; but for the course
You take to do't, by fraud, or force, 150
'Tis so ridiculous, as soon
As told, 'tis never to be done,
No more than setters can betray,
That tell what tricks they are to play.
Marriage, at best, is but a vow, 155
Which all men either break, or bow :
Then what will those forbear to do,
Who perjure, when they do but woo ?
Such as before-hand swear and lie,
For earnest to their treachery : 160
And rather than a crime confess,
With greater strive to make it less :
Like thieves, who, after sentence past,
Maintain their innocence to th' last ;
And when their crimes were made appear. 165
As plain as witnesses can swear ;
Yet, when the wretches come to die,
Will take upon their death a lie.
Nor are the virtues you confess'd
T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd 170
So slight, as to be justify'd,
By being, as shamefully, deny'd.
As if you thought your word would pass,
Point-blank, on both sides of a case ;

v. 153.—*setters*—] The agents of cheating gamblers, who inveigled inexperienced youths to be pillaged by their employers. (Ed.)

Or credit were not to be lost, 175
 B' a brave knight-errant of the post,
 That eats, perfidiously, his word,
 And swears his ears through a two-inch board :
 Can own the same thing, and disown,
 And perjure booty, *pro* and *con* : 180
 Can make the gospel serve his turn,
 And help him out, to be forsworn ;
 When 'tis laid hands upon, and kiss'd,
 To be betray'd, and sold like Christ.
 These are the virtues, in whose name, 185
 A right to all the world you claim,
 And boldly challenge a dominion,
 In grace and nature, o'er all women :
 Of whom, no less will satisfy,
 Than all the sex, your tyranny. 190

v. 178. *And swears his ears through a two-inch board*] " He will swear his ears through an inch-board, and wears them merely by the favour of the court ; for being *amicus curiæ*, they are willing to let him keep the pillory out of possession, though he has forfeited his right never so often : for when he is once outed of his ears, he is past his labour, and can do the commonwealth of practisers no more service." *Character of a Knight of the Post, Butler's Remains*, vol. 2. (Ed.)

v. 183. *When 'tis laid hands upon, and kiss'd*] The way of taking an oath, is by laying the right-hand upon the four Evangelists, which denominates it a *corporal oath*. This method was not always complied with in those iniquitous times.

In the trial of Mr. Christopher Love, in the year 1651, one Jaquel, an evidence, laid his hand upon his buttons, and not upon the book, when the oath was tendered him. And when he was questioned for it, he answered, *I am as good as under an oath*. (*Abridgement of the State Trials*, vol. 1. part 2. 8vo, 1720, p. 602.) And in the trial of the brave Colonel Morrice (who kept Pontefract Castle for the King) at York, by Thorp, and Puleston, when he challenged one Brook, his professed enemy ; the court answered, he spoke too late, Brook was sworn already.

Although you'll find it a hard province,
 With all your crafty frauds and covins,
 To govern such a num'rous crew,
 Who, one by one, now govern you :
 For if you all were Solomons, 195
 And wise and great as he was once,
 You'll find they're able to subdue
 (As they did him) and baffle you.

And if you are impos'd upon,
 'Tis by your own temptation done, 200
 That with your ignorance invite,
 And teach us how to use the slight.
 For when we find y' are still more taken
 With false attracts of our own making,
 Swear that's a rose, and that a stone, 205
 Like sots, to us that laid it on ;
 And what we did but slightly prime,
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme ;
 You force us, in our own defences,
 To copy beams and influences ; 210
 To lay perfections on, and graces,
 And draw attracts upon our faces :
 And, in compliance to your wit,
 Your own false jewels counterfeit.

Brook being asked the question, whether he were sworn or no ? replied, he had not yet kissed the book. The court answered, that was no matter, it was but a ceremony, he was recorded sworn, and there was no speaking against a record. (*Walker's History of Independency*, part 2. p. 250.)

v. 192. *With all your crafty frauds and covins*] *Covins* is a term of law, signifying a deceitful compact between two or more, to the hurt or prejudice of another. (Ed.)

For, by the practice of those arts, 215
We gain a greater share of hearts ;
And those deserve in reason most,
That greatest pains and study cost :
For great perfections are, like Heaven,
Too rich a present to be given. 220
Nor are those master strokes of beauty
To be perform'd, without hard duty ;
Which, when they're nobly done, and well,
The simple natural excel.
How fair and sweet the planted rose, 225
Beyond the wild in hedges, grows !
For, without art, the noblest seeds
Of flowers, degenerate to weeds.
How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground,
And polish'd, looks a diamond ? 230
Though Paradise were e'er so fair,
It was not kept so, without care.
The whole world, without art and dress,
Would be but one great wilderness :
And mankind but a savage herd, 235
For all that nature has conferr'd.
This does but rough-hew, and design,
Leaves art to polish, and refine.
Though women first were made for men,
Yet men were made for them again : 240
For when (out-witted by his wife)
Man first turn'd tenant, but for life ;
If women had not interven'd,
How soon had mankind had an end !

And that it is in being yet, 245

To us alone, you are in debt.

Then where's your liberty of choice;

And our unnatural ~~no~~ voice?

Since all the privilege you boast,

And falsely usurp'd, or vainly lost, 250

Is now our right; to whose creation,

You owe your happy restoration.

And if we had not weighty cause

To not appear, in making laws,

We could, in spite of all your tricks, 255

And shallow, formal politicks,

Force you our managements t' obey,

As we to yours (in shew) give way.

Hence 'tis, that while you vainly strive

T' advance your high prerogative, 260

You basely, after all your braves,

Submit, and own yourselves our slaves;

And 'cause we do not make it known,

Nor publicly our int'rests own;

Like sots, suppose we have no shares 265

In ord'ring you, and your affairs:

When all your empire and command,

You have from us, at second-hand:

As if a pilot, that appears

To sit still only, while he steers, 270

And does not make a noise and stir,

Like ev'ry common mariner,

Knew nothing of the card, nor star,

And did not guide the man-of-war:

And in the right of our Pope Joan,
 Make Emp'rors at our feet fall down ;
 Or Joan the Pucelle's braver name, 285
 Our right to arms, and conduct claim ;

v. 283, 284. *And in the right of our Pope Joan,—Make Emp'rors at our feet fall down*] This is a notable gird upon Pope Alexander the Third, who had a meeting with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa at Venice. (Sir W. Segar says in the year 1166, Sir Paul Rycaut in the year 1177.) The following account of which is given by Sir W. Segar. (*Of Honour, Military and Civil*, chap. 27. p. 152.) "The Emperor being arrived at Venice, the Pope was set in a rich chair at the church door.—Before the Pope's feet a carpet of purple was spread upon the ground; the Emperor being come to the said carpet, forthwith fell down, and from thence (upon his knees) went towards the Pope, to kiss his feet; which done, the Pope with his hand lifted him up. From thence they passed together unto the great altar, in St. Mark's church, whereon was set the table of precious stones, which at this day is reputed one of the greatest treasures in Europe. Some have reported, that the Emperor did prostrate himself before the altar, and the Pope set his foot on his neck: while this was a doing, the clergy sung the psalm of David, which saith, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*; which the Emperor hearing, said, *Non tibi, sed Petro*; the Pope answered, *Et mihi, et Petro*." (See *Sir Paul Rycaut's History of the Popes*, p. 246. *Mr. L. Howell's History of the Pontificate*, p. 341. *Wolff's Lektion. Memorab.* par. 1. p. 375. par. 2. p. 425. *Fougasse's History of Venice*, by Shute, part 1. p. 109. *Misson's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 178, 177.) See an account of Pope Hildebrand's excommunication and barbarous usage of the Emperor Henry IV in *Platina* and *Genebrard. Chronic. ann.* 1073.

v. 285. *Or Joan the Pucelle's braver name*] * Joan of Arc, called also the *Pucelle*, or Maid of Orleans. She was born at the town of Damremi on the Meuse, daughter of James d'Arc, and Isabella Romee, and was bred up a shepherdess in the country. At the age of eighteen or twenty, she pretended to an express commission from God to go to the relief of Orleans, then besieged by the English, and defended by John Comte de Dunois, and almost reduced to the last extremity. She went to the coronation of Charles the VIIth, when he was almost ruined. She knew that Prince in the midst of his nobles, though meanly habited. The doctors of divinity, and members of Parliament, openly declared that there was something supernatural in her conduct. She sent for a sword

Who, though a spinster, yet was able
To serve France for a Grand Constable.

We make, and execute all laws,
Can judge the judges, and the cause; 290

which lay in the tomb of a knight, which was behind the great altar of the church of St. Catherine de Forbois, upon the blade of which the cross and flower-de-luces were engraven, which put the King in a very great surprize, in regard none besides himself knew of it: upon this he sent her with the command of some troops, with which she relieved Orleans, and drove the English from it, defeated Talbot at the Battle of Pattai, and recovered Champagne. At last she was unfortunately taken prisoner, in a sally at Champagne, in 1430, and tried for a witch, or sorceress, condemned, and burnt in Rouen market-place, in May 1430."

Mr. Anstis observes, (*Register of the Garter*, vol. 1. p. 433.) "That Joan the Maid of Orleans, for her valiant actions, was ennobled, and had a grant of arms, dated January 16, 1429, and her pursuivant named *Hear de Liz*."

See a further account of her, *Mezeray's History of France*, translated by Bulteel, vol. 1. p. 453.

Ibid. The evidence for and against the *Maid of Orleans* is summed up, with some humour, in the following epitaph:

"Here lies Joan of Arc; the which
Some count saint, and some count witch;
Some count man and something more;
Some count maid, and some a whore.
Her life's in question, wrong or right,
Her death's in doubt, by laws or might.
Oh, Innocence! take heed of it,
How thou too near to Guilt dost sit.
(Meantime, France a wonder saw—
A woman rule, 'gainst Salique law!)
But, reader, be content to stay
Thy censure till the judgment-day;
Then shalt thou know, and not before,
Whether saint, witch, man, maid, or whore."

Winstanley's Historical Rarities. (Ed.)

v. 288. *To serve France for a Grand Constable*] All this is a satire on King Charles the Second, who was governed so much by his mis-

Prescribe all rules of right or wrong;
 To th' long robe, and the longer tongue ;
 'Gainst which the world has no defence,
 But our more pow'rful eloquence.
 We manage things of greatest weight, 295
 In all the world's affairs of state,
 Are ministers in war and peace,
 That sway all nations how we please.
 We rule all churches, and their flocks,
 Heretical and orthodox, 300
 And are the heavenly vehicles
 O' th' spirit, in all conventicles ;
 By us is all commerce and trade
 Improv'd, and manag'd, and decay'd ;
 For nothing can go off so well, 305
 Nor bears that price, as what we sell.
 We rule in ev'ry public meeting,
 And make men do what we judge fitting ;
 Are magistrates in all great towns,
 Where men do nothing but wear gowns. 310

tresses · particularly this line seems to allude to his French mistress, the
 Duchess of Portsmouth, given by that court, whom she served in the
 important post of governing King Charles, as they directed. (Mr. W.)
 See *Mr. Fenton's Observations upon Mr. Waller's Poems*, p. 78, 79.

J. Davies, in his *Relation of Achen*, observes, that the women there
 are the King's chief counsellors; and that a woman was his admiral.
 (See *Purchase his Pilgrims*, part 1. lib. 3. chap. 1. sect 5. p. 122.)

v. 290. *Can judge the judges, and the cause*]

*Make rev'rend judges speak with awe,
 And a bad title good in law.*

Butler's Ghost, canto 2. p. 62.

Q 2

We make the man of war strike sail,
 And to our braver conduct vail,
 And when h' has chac'd his enemies,
 Submit to us upon his knees.
 Is there an officer of state, 315
 Untimely rais'd, or magistrate,
 That's haughty and imperious?
 He's but a journeyman to us :
 That as he gives us cause to do't,
 Can keep him in, or turn him out. 320

We are your guardians, that increase,
 Or waste your fortunes how we please;
 And, as you humour us, can deal
 In all your matters, ill or well.
 'Tis we that can dispose alone, 325
 Whether your heirs shall be your own,
 To whose integrity you must,
 In spite of all your caution, trust ;
 And, 'less you fly beyond the seas,
 Can fit you with what heirs we please ; 330
 And force you t'own 'em, though begotten
 By French valets, or Irish footmen.

v. 311, 312. *We make the man of war strike sail—And to our braver conduct vail.*] Alluding probably to Sir William Waller. See *Mr. Cleveland's Character of a London Diurnal*.

v. 329. *And 'less you fly beyond the seas*] See note on l. 598. P. III. C. I. (Ed.)

v. 331, 332. *And force you t'own 'em, though begotten—By French valets, or Irish footmen.*] Heywood (in his *Hierarchie of Angels*) tells a story of John Teutonicus of Halberstad, a learned man, but basely born, who being often taunted by his companions with his ignoble birth, had recourse to his skill in necromancy, to mortify their ancestral vanity. Having invited his friends to a banquet,

Nor can the rigorous course
 Prevail, unless to make us worse ;
 Who still, the harsher we are us'd,
 Are further off from b'ing reduc'd ;
 And scorn t' abate, for any ills,
 The least punctilio of our wills.

335

*John asks of them, if they could wish to see
 Their fathers present ?—They desire him to't,
 Proving to find if he by art can do't.
 He bids them to sit silent—all are mute :—
 When suddenly one enters, in a suit,
 Greasy, before him a white apron ty'd,
 His linen sleeves tuck'd up, both elbows hide ;
 He stands and eyes them round, and by his look
 None there but needs must guess him for a cook.
 Which of you know this fellow now ? (saith John)
 What say you, Sir, whom he so gazeth on ?
 He soon replied on whom he fixed his eye,—
 Ask you who knows him ? Marry that do I,
 He's of my father's kitchen.—Nay, Sir, rather
 (John answer'd him) this is your own dear father ;
 For when that noble Sir whose name you bear,
 Was travell'd on some great affair elsewhere,
 This well-fed groom, to whom you ought to kneel,
 Begot you then all over, head to heel :
 It seems your mother knew not dross from bullion,
 That in a great lord's stead embraced a scullion.
 He chafes—the spirit doth vanish in the while :
 The rest seem pleas'd, and in the int'rim smile.
 When suddenly, in middle of the room,
 Is seen a tall and lusty stable groom—
 A frock upon him, and in his left hand
 A curricomb, the other grasps a wand—
 And looks upon a second. Here I show him
 Amongst you all, (saith John) doth any know him ?
 I must (saith one) acknowledge him of force ;
 His name is Ralph, and keeps my father's horse—
 And kept your mother warm too, doubt it not,
 The very morning that you were begot,
 Her husband being a hunting :—the youth blush'd.
 The rest, afraid now, were with silence hush'd.*

Force does but whet our wits t' apply
 Arts, born with us, for remedy ; 340
 Which all your politicks, as yet,
 Have ne'er been able to defeat :
 For when y' have try'd all sorts of ways,
 What fools d' we make of you in plays ?
 While all the favours we afford, 345
 Are but to girt you with the sword,
 To fight our battles in our steads,
 And have your brains beat out o' your heads ;
 Encounter, in despite of nature,
 And fight at once with fire and water, 350
 With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,
 Our pride and vanity t' appease ;
 Kill one another, and cut throats,
 For our good graces, and best thoughts ;
 To do your exercise for honour, 355
 And have your brains beat out the sooner ;
 Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon
 Things that are never to be known :

*Then to the third he brought a butler in,
 And prov'd him guilty of his mother's sin.
 A tailor to the fourth. So of the rest :
 Till all of them were with like shame oppress."*

(ED.)

v. 353, 354. *Kill one another, and cut throats,—For our good graces, and best thoughts]* Of this kind were the commands from Bisalta and Pipea to their lovers Favorinus and Hortensius. (See *Dr. Baily's Romance*, written in Newgate, and published 1650, in folio, with this title: *Herba Parietis, or the Wall Flower*, p. 124, &c.)

And still appear the more industrious,
 The more your projects are prepost'rous ; 360
 To square the circle of the arts,
 And run stark mad to shew your parts ;
 Expound the oracle of laws,
 And turn them which way we see cause ;
 Be our solicitors and agents, 365
 And stand for us in all engagements.

And these are all the mighty pow'rs
 You vainly boast, to cry down ours ;
 And what in real value's wanting,
 Supply with vapouring and ranting : 370

v. 378. *Pass on ourselves a Salique law*] Pharamond, the first king of France, died about the year 428. An ancient chronicle gives him the credit of settling the Salique law by four lords, and says, they laboured in it for three *mallets*, or assizes ; and that it is called *Salique* from the *Saliens*, the noblest of the French people. *Mezeray's History of France*, translated by Bulteel, 1683, p. 7. *De Serre's History of France*, by Peter Mathew, 1624, p. 5, 6. *Spelman's Glossar. Lex Salica*, p. 363. *Moll's Geography*, p. 63. *Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France*, book 1. p. 3, 4.

Nauclerus (vid. *Chronograph.* vol. 2. p. 523.) thinks it was called *Lex Salica*, from *Salagustus*, one of the doctors that drew it up. See *Whetstone's English Mirrour*, 1586. lib. 2. chap. 8. p. 137. Dr. Heylin says, (*Cosmography*, 5th edit. p. 177.) it was so called, as is pretended, because the words *Si aliqua* are so often used in it.

Others call its antiquity in question, and think it was four hundred years later than Pharamond, and made by Charles the Great against the German women, inheriting lands in their small domains, between the *Sala* and the *Elbe* ; and if so, it had no signification to the French. See *Echard's History of England*, vol. 1. p. 437, 438.

Because yourselves are terrify'd,
 And stoop to one another's pride ;
 Believe we have as little wit
 To be out-hector'd, and submit :

But whether the claim is in Pharamond, or Charles the Great, if we may credit Dr. Howel, (see his *Institution of General History*, part 3. p. 465.) the first time that it was put in execution, was after the death of Lewis the Tenth, or Lewis Hutin, the forty-sixth king of France, who died the fifth day of June, 1316, (see *Translation of Mazeray*, p. 344, 345.) and left his queen Clementia great with child of a son called John, who died the eighth day after he was born. He left a daughter also named Joanna, begotten of Margaret, daughter of Robert Duke of Burgundy, for whom her uncle Odo, brother of this Robert, challenged this kingdom, in right both of her father and brother: But Philip, surnamed the Long, brought her uncle Odo over to his interest, by marrying to him his own daughter Joanna.—At this time, and in this case, was this law first objected, almost nine whole ages after it was first enacted. Edward the Third, King of England, not long after this, namely in the year 1328, (see *Echard's History of England*, vol. 1. p. 342.) claimed the crown of France, in right of his mother Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fourth, surnamed Philip the Fair. (See *Selden's Notes upon Drayton's Polyolbion*, 17th Song, p. 275. *Stowe's Chronicle*, by Howes, p. 691. *Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe*, 6th edit. p. 113.)

*It was not so when Edward prov'd his cause,
 By a sword stronger than the Salique laws,
 Though fetch'd from Pharamond; when the French did fight,
 With women's hearts, against the women's right.*

A Poem on the Civil War, by Mr. Abr. Cowley.

Henry the Fifth was advised by Archbishop Chichele to lay claim to his right in that kingdom, which descended to him from King Edward the Third. (See *Echard's History of England*, vol. 1. p. 437, 438. *Shakespear's King Henry the Fifth*, vol. 4. p. 9, 10.) Montaigne observes, (*Essays*, vol. 2. chap. 8. p. 103.) that this law was never seen by any one.

By your example, lose that right 375
 In treaties, which we gain'd in fight :
 And, terrify'd into an awe,
 Pass on ourselves a Salique law :

See more, *Brady's Complete History of England*, p. 60. *Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe*, p. 118, 119. *Critical Essay on Nobility*, 1720, p. 478, and the tracts in French upon this subject, *Droit Public du France*, No. 9245,—46,—47,—48. *Catalog. Bibliothec. Harleian*, vol. 2. p. 557.

The Lycians (according to Herodotus, *Clio*, p. 79. edit. *Hen. Stephan.* 1592.) had a custom peculiar to themselves, and the reverse of this. For amongst them, the relation by the mother's side was esteemed more honorable than that by the father; and for that reason, the children took the mother's name.

v. 379, 380. *Or, as some nations use, give place,—And truckle to your mighty race*] The Spanish ladies do so. (See *Lady's Travels into Spain*, part 3. letter 12th, p. 230.) But he alludes probably to the Muscovite women, who are far more obsequious in this respect, than they should be. For Mr. Purchase observes, (*Pilgrims*, third part, lib. 2. chap. 1. sect. 3. p. 230.) "That if there the woman is not beaten once a week, she will not be good; and therefore they look for it weekly: and the women say, if their husbands did not beat them, they should not love them."

Est Moscoviæ quidam Alemannus, faber ferrarius, cognomento Jordanus, qui duxerat uxorem Rhutenam, ea cum apud maritum aliquandiu esset, hunc ex occasione quadam amicè sic alloquitur; cur me conjux charissime non amas? Respondet maritus, Ego vero te vehementer amo: querebat igitur maritus qualia signa vellet? Cui uxor, nunquam, ait, me verberasti. (Rer. Moscoviticar. Comment. Sigismundi, æc. 1600. Ratio contrahendi Matrimonium, p. 35.)

We see after all, (says Mr. Byron) that the Widow is too cunning to be entrapped, either by the threats, or entreaties, in the Knight's letter. She gives him no hopes of a peaceable compliance with his demands, nor any handle for a forced one, either in law or equity. Her satire is just, and so appositely levelled at the most sensible part of his passion, that all his pretensions to it are ridiculed and overthrown: all his hypocritical schemes and pretences being thus disappointed, we may

Or, as some nations use, give place,
And truckle to your mighty race, 380
Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,
As if they were the better women.

conjecture, that it wrought in his stubborn mind, a conviction, that they were vain, empty, and unavailable: and accordingly we find, that he now puts an end to a three years' fruitless amour; for we hear nothing of him afterwards.



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The whole designed by J. Thurston.

VOL. I.

VIGNETTE ON TITLE.	<i>W. Hughes.</i>
<i>Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling,</i>	
<i>And out he rode a colonelling.—</i>	
<i>A Squire he had, whose name was Ralph,</i>	
<i>That in th' adventure went his half.</i>	

LARGE ENGRAVED TITLE, HEAD OF HUDIBRAS.

J. Thompson.

*Thus was he gifted and accouter'd—
 His tawny beard was th' equal grace
 Both of his wisdom and his face;
 In cut and dye so like a tile,
 A sudden view it would beguile.—
 His puissant sword unto his side,
 Near his undaunted heart was tied;
 With basket-hilt that would hold broth,
 And serve for fight and dinner both.—
 ——— he was of that stubborn crew
 Of errant saints, whom all men grant
 To be the true church-militant;
 Such as do build their faith upon
 The holy text of pike and gun.*

HEAD-PIECE TO PART I. CANTO I.

H. White.

*When gospel-trumpeter, surrounded
 By long-ear'd rout, to battle sounded;
 And pulpit, drum ecclesiastick,
 Was beat with fist instead of a stick.*

TAIL-PIECE TO PART I, CANTO I.

R. Branston.

*————— he always chose
 To carry vittles in his hose,
 That often tempted rats and mice
 The ammunition to surprise.—
 Two aged pistols——
 These would inveigle rats with th' scent,
 To forage when the cocks were bent;
 And sometimes catch 'em with a snap,
 As closely as th' ablest trap.*

HEAD-PIECE TO PART I. CANTO II.

J. Thompson.

— wing'd with speed and fury, flew
To rescue Knight from black and blue :
Which ere he could atchieve, his sconce
The leg encounter'd twice and once ;
And now 'twas rais'd to smite again,
When Ralpho thrust himself between.

TAIL-PIECE TO PART I. CANTO II.

R. Branston.

Crowdero making doleful face,
Like hermit poor in pensive place :
To dungeon they the wretch commit,
And the survivor of his feet.

HEAD-PIECE TO PART I. CANTO III.

R. Branston.

When setting ope the postern gate,
Which they thought best to sally at,
The foe appear'd, drawn up and drill'd,
Ready to charge them in the field.

TAIL-PIECE TO PART I. CANTO III.

R. Branston.

— in a cool shade,
Which eglantine and roses made ;
Close by a softly morn'ring stream,
Where lovers us'd to loll and dream—
There leaving him to his repose.—

VOL. II.

VIGNETTE ON TITLE.

J. Thompson.

The dogs beat you at Brantford Fair ;
Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,
And handled you like a fop-doodle.

HEAD-PIECE TO PART II. CANTO I.

J. Thompson.

————— *she went*
To find the Knight in limbo pent ;
And 'twas not long before she found
Him, and his stout Squire, in the Pound.

TAIL-PIECE TO PART II. CANTO I.

R. Branston.

————— *a tall long-sided dame,*
But wond'rous light, ycleped Fame,——
Upon her shoulders, wings she wears,
Like hanging sleeves, lin'd through with ears,
And eyes and tongues——
With letters hung, like eastern pigeons——
Two trumpets she doth sound at once,
But both of clean contrary tones.

HEAD-PIECE TO PART II. CANTO II.

R. Branston.

With that he seiz'd upon his blade ;
And Ralpho too, as quick and bold,
Upon his basket-hilt laid hold.

TAIL-PIECE TO PART II. CANTO II.

J. Thompson.

—— *quitting both their swords and reins,*
They grasp'd, with all their strength, the manes ;
And to avoid the foe's pursuit,
With spurring put their cattle to't.

HEAD-PIECE TO PART II. CANTO III.

R. Branston.

—— *Hudibras to all appearing,*
Believ'd him to be dead as herring.
He held it now no longer safe
To tarry the return of Ralph,
But rather leave him in the lurch.——

TAIL-PIECE TO PART II. CANTO III.

H. White.

*This Sidrophel by chance espied,
And with amazement staring wide,
Bless us ! (quoth he) what dreadful wonder
Is that appears in heaven yonder ?*

HEAD-PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO SIDROPHEL. J. Byfield.

Sidrophel perusing Hudibras's Epistle.

TAIL-PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO SIDROPHEL. J. Byfield.

Guncracks, whims, and jiggumbobs.

HEAD-PIECE TO PART III. CANTO I. J. Thompson.

*He wonder'd how she came to know,
What he had done, and meant to do :
Held up his affidavit-hand,
As if h' had been to be arraigned.—*

TAIL-PIECE TO PART III. CANTO I. R. Branston.

*H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,
And in a moment gain'd the pass ;
Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's
Fore-quarters out by th' head and shoulders.—*

VOL. III.

VIGNETTE ON TITLE. ,

J. Byfield.

*———— the foe beat up his quarters,
And storm'd the out-works of his fortress ;
Soon as they had him at their mercy,
They put him to the cudgel fiercely.—*

HEAD-PIECE TO PART III. CANTO II. J. Thompson.

*Knights, citizens, and burghesses——
 Held forth by rumps——of pigs and geese——
 Each bonfire is a fun'ral pile,
 In which they roast, and scorch, and broil.—*

TAIL-PIECE TO PART III. CANTO II. J. Thompson.

*—— crowded on with so much haste,
 Until th' had block'd the passage fast,
 And barricaded it with haunches
 Of outward men, and bulks, and paunches.*

HEAD-PIECE TO PART III. CANTO III. W. Hughes.

*To this brave man, the Knight repairs
 For counsel in his law affairs ;——
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,
 Put off his hat, to put his case.*

TAIL-PIECE TO PART III. CANTO III. J. Byfield.

*—— books and money plac'd for show,
 Like nest-eggs to make clients lay——
 Is not the winding-up witnesses,
 And nicking, more than half the bus'ness ;
 For witnesses, like watches, go
 Just as they're set, too fast or slow.*

HEAD-PIECE TO HUDIBRAS'S EPISTLE TO HIS LADY.

J. Byfield.

*—— having pump'd up all his wit,
 And humm'd upon it, thus he writ.*

TAIL-PIECE TO HUDIBRAS'S EPISTLE TO HIS LADY.

J. Byfield.

*What tender sigh and trickling tear,
Longs for a thousand pounds a year ;
And languishing transports are fond
Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond.*

HEAD-PIECE TO THE LADY'S ANSWER. *J. Thompson.*

*She open'd it, and read it out,
With many a smile and leering flout.——*

TAIL-PIECE TO THE LADY'S ANSWER. *R. Branston.*

*We make the man of war strike sail,
And to our braver conduct vail,
And when h' has chac'd his enemies,
Submit to us upon his knees.*

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